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IN GEORGIA

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THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BAGRATIDS AND THE INSTITUTION OF COLLEGIAL SOVEREIGNTY IN GEORGIA*

By CYRIL TOUMANOFF

The end of the fifteenth century witnessed the dissolution of the medieval kingdom of Georgia. The three kingdoms — of Georgia proper (Iberia = K'art'li), of Imeretia (Abasgia), and of Kakhetia — and the five sovereign principalities, into which that ancient and once powerful realm had found itself divided, were ill prepared now to face the onslaught of the Islamic imperialism of the Osmons and the Safawis or, finally, to prevent the nearest Christian empire, to which they had turned for aid, from absorbing them.

The Partition of Georgia, and all the attendant events, need never have occurred — it is safe to assert — but for an ill-chosen constitutional innovation. The Byzantine system of collegial sovereignty, introduced in Georgia by her Bagratid (Bagrationi) dynasty, was the decisive factor in the history of her decline and fall. Yet no cognizance of its existence in the fifteenth century has heretofore been taken by modern Georgian historiography.

A study of the working of an essentially dynastic system like collegial sovereignty must needs hinge on an exact knowledge of genealogy. Here, again, modern historiography has left unanswered some questions in the genealogical history of the fifteenth-century Bagratids; or it has followed in the erring footsteps of its founder, the eighteenth-century Georgian polyhistor Vakhusht. It is, accordingly, the purpose of this study to correct the errors of the traditional historians regarding the Bagratids of the period in question and to bring to the fore the existence and role of the institution of collegial sovereignty in Georgian history.

The task of the historian is made difficult by the reverberations of that

*The following special abbreviations are used in this study:

- AG—E. T'qaishvili (ed.), *Les antiquités géorgiennes* 1-3 (Tiflis 1899, 1909, 1910).
- Aktī—Aktī Sobrannīe Kavazskoi Arxeograficheskoi Komissiei 1 and 2 (Tiflis 1866, 1867).
- Dates—Dates recueillies par Wakhoucht, HG II 1 377-406 (cf. below).
- HG—M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle*, traduite du géorgien I 1 and 2, II 1 and 2 (St. Petersburg 1849, 1850, 1856, 1857).
- Introduction—idem, *Introduction à l'HG* (St. Petersburg 1858).
- J—I. Javakhishvili, *K'art'veli Eris Istoria* II and IV (Tiflis 1914, 1924).
- K—S. Kakabaje (ed.), *Istoriuli Sabut'ebi* 3 (Tiflis 1913).
- MGHL—C. Toumanoff, 'Medieval Georgian Historical Literature,' *Traditio* 1 (1943) 139-82.
- QM—E. T'qaishvili (ed.), *K'art'lis-C'xovreba: Mariam Dedop'lis Varianti* (Tiflis 1906).
- IV Rapp.—M. Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie* (St. Petersburg 1849-1851), IV^e Rapport, 3^e livraison.
- Tables—'Tables généalogiques,' Addition 9, HG II 1 (a convenient epitome of Vaxusht and traditional historiography).
- Sas Sigel.—S. Kakabaje, 'Sasisxlo Sigelebis Sesaxeb,' *Bulletin historique* 2 (1924) 1-107.
- Spiski—The Chamber of Heralds of the Ruling Senate of the Russian Empire (ed.), *Spiski Titulovannim Rodam i Licam Rossiyskoy Imperii* (St. Petersburg 1892).
- Z—T. Zordania (ed.), *K'ronikebi da Szva Masala Sak'art'velos Istoriisa* 2 (Tiflis 1897).

troubled epoch — a century that opened with the invasions of Timur and closed with the disorder of the Partition — which still affect him in the scarcity of historiographical and the absence of numismatic sources for the period. But, on the other hand, the diplomatic data (unknown for the most part to the founders of modern Georgian historiography) grow very copious beginning with the end of the fourteenth century. It is on them — chiefly the diplomata or charters (the Georgian term is *sigel* < χρυσόβουλλον σιγίλλιον) of sovereigns, members of the families, lords spiritual and temporal — that this work is principally based, preference being given everywhere to their evidence over that of the later chronicles and historians who were cherished by the founders of Georgian historiography.

I. NOTES TO THE STEMMA OF THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BAGRATIDS

BAGRAT V. — Son of King David VII of Georgia (1346-1360) and of his wife Sindukhtar, daughter of John I Djaqeli, Duke of Meschia.¹ He was co-opted by his father c. 1355² and succeeded him in 1360.³ It was during his reign, in 1386, that Timur began his campaigns against Georgia. In September/October of that year, Timur sacked Tiflis and captured King Bagrat, Queen Anne, and their son David. Bagrat was set free in 1393 at the price of apostasy.⁴

¹ *Tables* 1.625, 2.639; Panaretus, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς Τραπεζούντος βασιλέων, τῶν μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν* 48 (ed. S. Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 4 [1907] 289): David VII's wife was a sister of Ἀχπουγά (= Ağbuga Jaqeli, Duke of Meschia [Samc'xe], son of John I; *Tables* 2.638-40).

² Cf. below, chap. II.

³ *The History of the Invasions of Timur* (ed. T'aqaišvili, QM Annex II) 855; *Tables* 1.625. The former source, possibly dating from c. 1424/1450, depends largely on the *Ẓafar-Nāma* of Šaraf ad-dīn (V. Minorsky, 'Transcaucasica,' *Journ. Asiatique* 217 [1930] 91-2; Brosset, HG I 1.393 n.7; *idem*, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'HG* [St. Petersburg 1851] 386-97) and forms Part 2 of *The First Continuation of The Georgian Annals*, compiled in the eighteenth century (MGHL 159-61). The other parts of *Contin. I.*, of importance for this study, are (3) the *Bridge Chronicle*, a series of entries bridging Parts 2 and 4; QM 887; and (4) *The History of Alexander I and His Successors*, possibly based on an older source: QM 888-91. There is, moreover, *Contin. II.* of the *Annals*: QM 892-973, the opening part of which is used in this study. — A fuller treatment of the Georgian sources for the period in question will be found in chap. 1 of the present writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation, bearing the same title as this study, submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Georgetown University on May 14, 1948.

⁴ *Hist. Inv. Tim.* 859-64, represents Bagrat's apostasy as having been simulated, under duress, chiefly to save the others with him. The date of his capture is wrong: 1393; but it reappears, correctly, for Timur's second campaign in Georgia; pp. 858, 860. — 'Alī Yazdī Šaraf ad-dīn, *Ẓafar-Nāma* I (Calcutta 1887) 401-3 (sack of Tiflis and capture of Bagrat), 407-8 (apostasy); Panaretus 53.292 (Nov. 21, 1387!); Thomas of Mecop' (Mecop'ec'i) (trans. F. Nève, *Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan et de Schah-Rukh . . . d'après la chronique arménienne inédite de Thomas de Medzoph*, Brussels 1860) 36-7: the King's Islamism is mentioned as but a ruse; Charter 28 Alex. I. 1440 (Z 247-8) mentions the capture of Bagrat and Anne by the 'impious Timur'; *Chronique géorgienne* (ed. Société Asiatique, Paris 1829) 1 puts that event at 1385: it is an eighteenth-century compilation (MGHL 179 n.13). — I wish to express my gratitude to Professor V. Minorsky for the kind assistance he has given me in connection with the works of Šaraf ad-dīn and 'Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandī.

The Stemma of the Bagratid King

BAGRAT

†1395. Co-king c. 1395

I. 1395

II. June 1367 *Anne*,
Emperor of Trebizond

I:

GEORGE VII
†k. 1405
Co-king 1369
King of Georgia
1395-1405

II:

CONSTANTINE I
*c. 1369, † k. 1412
King of Georgia 1405-1412
X
Natili, d. of Kutsuma
(Khurtzidze-Chorchaneli?)
Prince-Chamberlain of Georgia
† (nun Nino) p. 1412

ALEXANDER I THE GREAT
*1390, † (monk Athanasius) 1446
Co-king c. 1408, King of Georgia 1412-1442
X

I. 1410/1411 *Dulandukht*, d. of Beshken II Orbeliani,
Prince of Siunia
II. 1414/1415 *Thamar*, d. of Alexander I,
Duke of Imeretia; † p. 1441.

I:

N.
*c. 1415, † a. 1438
X
1425, John IV
Comnenus,
Emperor of Trebizond
(p. 1417-1429-1458)

VAKHTANG IV
* a. 1413, † 1446
Co-king 1433
King of Georgia
1442-1446
X

1442 *Sitikhatur*,
d. of Zaza I, Prince
Panaskerteli; † 1444

DEMETRIUS III

* a. 1413, † 1453
Co-king 1433
de jure King of Georgia
1446-1453
X

p. 1446 *Gulashar*, † p. 1475

II:

GEORGE VIII
* 1415/1417, † 1476
Co-king in Kakhetia 1433
de facto King of Georgia
1446-1465
Anti-king in Kakhetia
1466-1476
X
1445 *Thamar-Daria*, d. of
Bagrat of Georgia; † p. 1510

CONSTANTINE II

* p. 1447, † 1505
Co-king c. 1465
King of Georgia
1478-1505
X

c. 1478 *Thamar*
† p. 1492



THE HOUSE OF GEORGIA

N.

affianced 1451
to Constantine
XI Palaeologus
last Roman Emperor
of the East
X
1465 George Shabur-
ridze, s. of the
Duke of Aragvi

ALEX.

* 1445/1457, †
Co-king in C
Anti-king
147
King of
149
Anne-Tinatin,
Irubakidze-

THE HOUSE

Abbreviations: a.=ante, *=born, c.=circa, d.=daughter, †=died, k.=killed, X=married, N.=name unknown, p.=p

The Stemma of the Bagratid Kings of Georgia in the Fifteenth Century

BAGRAT V THE GREAT

†1395. Co-king *c.* 1355, King of Georgia 1360-1395

X

I. *Helen*, †1366

II. June 1367 *Anne*, d. of Alexius III Comnenus,
Emperor of Trebizond; *Apr. 6, 1357, † *p.* 1393

II:

CONSTANTINE I

**c.* 1369, † k. 1412

King of Georgia 1405-1412

X

Nutia, d. of Kutsuma

(Khurtzidze-Chorchaneli?)

Prince-Chamberlain of Georgia

† (nun Nino) *p.* 1412

David

* *a.* 1386

† *p.* 1465

Bagrat

Co-king *c.* 1408
(Anti-king in
Imeretia 1445?)

II:

GEORGE VIII

* 1415/1417, † 1476

Co-king in Kakhetia 1433

de facto King of Georgia

1446-1465

Anti-king in Kakhetia

1466-1476

X

1445 *Thamar-Daria*, d. of
Bagrat of Georgia; † *p.* 1510

David III

**a.* 1417, † *p.* 1457
Patriarch-Katholikos
off Iberia *c.* 1426-1457

Zaal

* *a.* 1428, † *p.* 1442
Co-king 1433

Thamar-Daria

† *p.* 1510

X

1445 George
VIII, King of
Georgia

METRIUS III

c. 1413, † 1453

Co-king 1433

King of Georgia

1446-1453

X

Gulashar, † *p.* 1475

CONSTANTINE II

p. 1447, † 1505

Co-king *c.* 1465

King of Georgia

1478-1505

X

1478 *Thamar*

† *p.* 1492

N.

affianced 1451

to Constantine

XI Palaeologus

last Roman Emperor

of the East

X

1465 George Shabu-

ridze, s. of the

Duke of Aragvi

ALEXANDER I

* 1445/1457, † k. Apr. 27, 1511

Co-king in Georgia *c.* 1460

Anti-king in Kakhetia

1476-1490

King of Kakhetia

1490-1511

X

Anne-Tinatin, d. of the Prince

Irubakiidze-Cholaqashvili

HOUSE OF GEORGIA

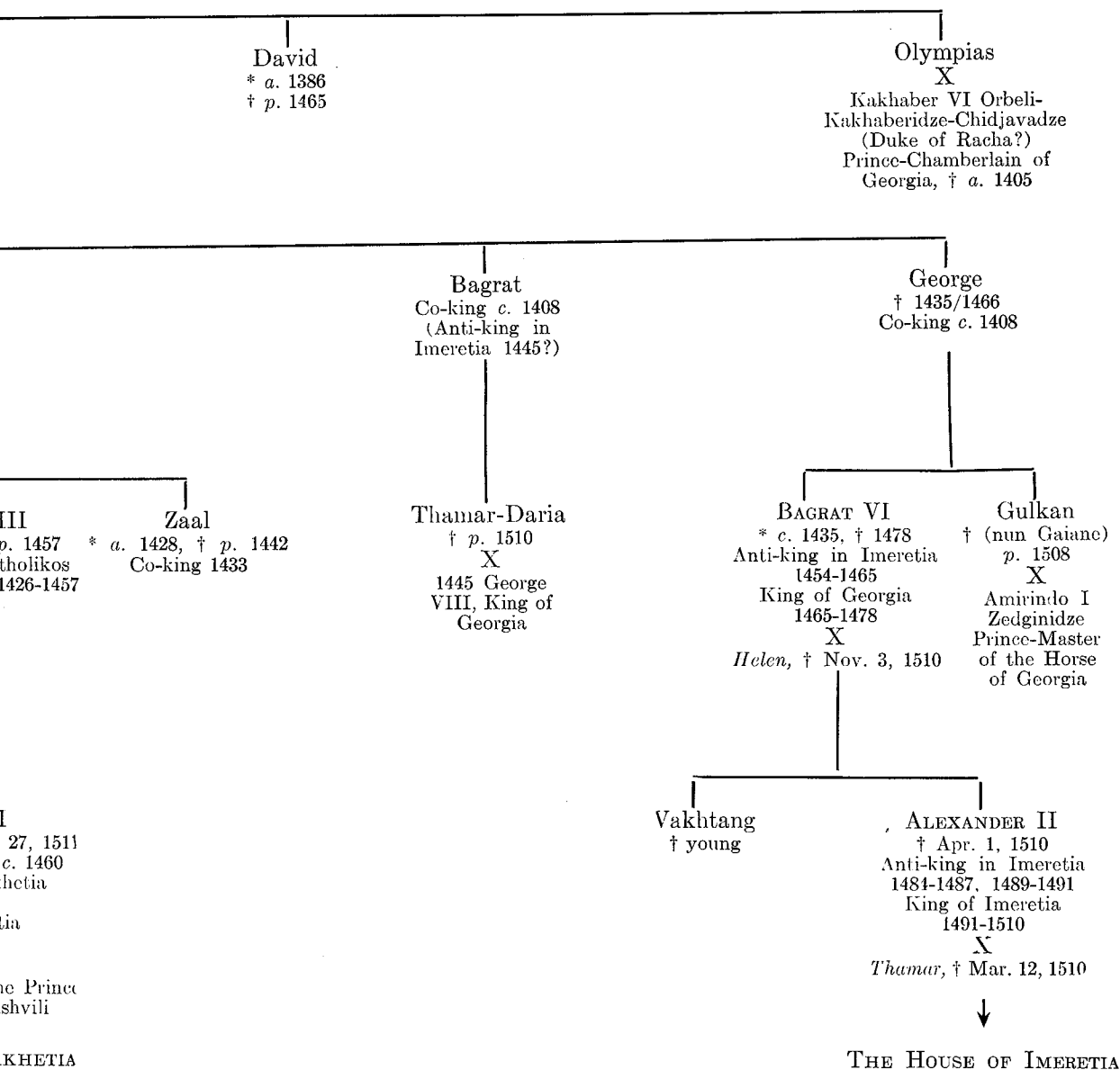
THE HOUSE OF KAKHETIA

†=died, k.=killed, X=married, N.=name unknown, *ps.*=*post*, s.=son.

Georgia in the Fifteenth Century

THE GREAT
of Georgia 1360-1395

1366
Alexius III Comnenus,
pr. 6, 1357, † p. 1393



He died in 1395 'in the Faith and in repentance.'⁵ Georgian historiography has styled him 'the Great.'⁶

The first wife of King Bagrat was Helen (*Elene*), who died of the plague in 1366⁷ and of whose origin we know nothing. There can be no doubt, however, as to her *Ebenbürtigkeit*: her belonging to, e.g., one of the princely houses of the Realm; otherwise her son George VII would hardly have become king, taking precedence over his half-brothers by the princess imperial of Trebizond.⁸

In June 1367, Bagrat married his second wife, Anne, daughter of Alexius III (Grand) Comnenus, Emperor of Trebizond. She was born on April 6, 1357.⁹

⁵ *Hist. Inv. Tim.* 871 (no date given); also *Chron. géorg.* 1/2; *Tables* 1.625; *Dates* 380.

⁶ *Chron. géorg.* 1/2; *Dates* 380.

⁷ Vaxušt, *History of Georgia* (tr. Brosset, HG I 2) 663; *Dates* 378; *Tables* 1.625. We have no contemporary data on Queen Helen.

⁸ The practice of marrying according to *Ebenbürtigkeit* obtained among the royal, princely, and noble houses of Georgia; cf. Vaxušt, *Geographical Description of Georgia* (ed. Brosset, *Descr. géogr. de la Géorgie par le tsarévitch Wakhoucht*, St. Petersburg 1842) 6/7, 22/23; J. Karst, *Le code géorgien de Vakhtang VI: Commentaire historique-comparatif* I (Strasbourg 1935) 246. All the marriages of Georgian kings which can be ascertained have been contracted with other Bagratids, with members of other sovereign houses (Georgian and foreign), or members of non-sovereign princely houses of Georgia. Exceptions to this rule are well known, as, e.g., the marriage of the Crown Prince David, the last King's son (in 1800), which resulted in the raising of the bride's family (Abamelik') to princely status, receiving thus a retroactive legitimation. Cf. *Tables*.—Georgian nobility was composed of princes and knights; the princely class of the *t'avad-s* had, together with the Crown, evolved out of the original tribal-dynastic aristocracy of the *mamasaxlis-es*, *sep'ecul-s*, or *mt'avar-s*, as it was variously called. That aristocracy was the 'first class' of Iberia according to Strabo, *Geogr.* 11.3.6; whereas the knights or *aznaur-s* represented Strabo's 'third class'; Karst, *op. cit.* 203-4, 218, 237-8, 245-6, 248-9, 251-4; S. Janašia, 'K Kritike Moiseā Xorenskogo,' *Masalebi* for the History of Georgia and Caucasia 6 (1937) 471-503. Accordingly, all the members of the princely class were by nature *ebenbürtig* with the royal house. This equality of birth was explicit, after the fifteenth century, in the case of eleven houses of the *t'avad-s* (or *didebul-t'avad-s*). They alone had escaped the weakening division of the princely houses which in that century resulted from the Partition of Georgia; they thus retained their original dynastic status as well as the original title of *mt'avar*, and their position closely resembled that of the immediate princely vassals of the throne of the Holy Roman Empire; cf. Karst, *op. cit.* 228, 169 n.2; II (Strasbourg 1937) 160-2; Brosset, *Introduction* lxxix.—The four cases adduced by Brosset, *IV Rapp.* 6-25, of intermarriages of the royal house with certain princely families which were regarded as unbecoming (*uxvedri*, lit. 'impassable') cannot impair what has been said, in view of the overwhelming number of other similar marriages. These four alliances were objected to on *religious grounds* (probably questions of kinship, religious vows, etc.) and resulted in amends being made to the Katholikos of Iberia, presumably in order to obtain, *post factum*, the necessary dispensations (cf. below, note on George VIII's daughter).

⁹ Panaretus 21.280 (birth), 29.286-7 (marriage), 53.292 (capture by Timur); *Hist. Inv. Tim.* 859. The date of Anne's death is unknown. Brosset mistook that of her double sister-in-law, the Empress Eudocia, on March 2, 1395, for her own; HG I 2.653 n.3. Anne's mother was Theodora Cantacuzena, a cousin of the Eastern Roman Emperor John VI; Panaretus 16.277-8, 21.280. Anne's brother, the Emperor Manuel III, married on Oct. 6, 1379 Eudocia, formerly Gulk'an-Xatun (Κουλλάνχατ), Bagrat V's sister; Panaretus 48.289-90,

GEORGE (*Giorgi*) VII. — Son of Bagrat V¹⁰ by his first wife.¹¹ He became a co-king with his father in 1369,¹² replaced him actively during his captivity,¹³ and succeeded him in 1395.¹⁴ There exist but three charters of this monarch.¹⁵ George VII died in 1405,¹⁶ killed, according to Vakhusht, in a battle against the Tatars at Nakhidari in Somkheti.¹⁷

CONSTANTINE (*Kostantine*) I. — Son of Bagrat V and brother of George VII.¹⁸ There exists only one charter issued by him: 4 Jul. 3 Const. I. 1408 (AG 3.461). We know that, of the sons of Bagrat V, the eldest, George, was born of his first marriage; the youngest, David, of the second.¹⁹ That Bagrat's other children, his daughter Olympias and his son Constantine, were likewise Anne Comnena's children, albeit not explicitly mentioned as such in the available sources, is patent from their names. These, as well as the name of 'Alexander', borne by Constantine's eldest son, had until then been (and 'Olympias' has since remained) rather rare in Georgia and unknown among the Bagratids. The reason why they now appeared is clear: these names were unquestionably due to their bearers' Comnenian mother and grandmother. Analogous cases may be recalled: a Bagratid princess, who had married the future Emperor Andronicus I, had brought into the Comnenian dynasty of Trebizond the name

50.291, 54.293.—For the surname of Grand Comnenus, adopted by the imperial house of Trebizond, cf. A. Vasiliev, 'The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond,' *Speculum* 11 (1936) 36-7; for Anne's own surname, Panaretus 29.286.—The family tradition of the House of Orbeli(ani)-Barat'ašvili claims that a daughter of Bagrat V, Tamar, married Eles Orbeli-Barat'ašvili. Since, however, this tradition is found only in the charter (*guḡar*) of the Orbelian abbey of Bet'ania, copied in 1704, its acceptance must be withheld until further confirmation. Cf. E. T'aqaišvili, 'Ešče Odin iz Istočnikov Istorii Gruzii Careviča Vaxušta: Gudžar Baratovix iz Betanii,' *Zapiski of the East. Div. of the Imp. Russ. Archaeological Society* 8.113-28.—For other possible children of Bagrat V cf. below, n.28.

¹⁰ *Hist. Inv. Tim.* 866, 867, 868, 871; Thomas of Mecop' 37.

¹¹ *Tables* 1.625; cf. below, n.19.

¹² Cf. below, chap. II.

¹³ *Hist. Inv. Tim.* 866.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 871; *Tables* 1.625; *Dates* 380.

¹⁵ Of 1393 (*résumé*, *IV Rapp.* 9), Jul. 9, 1399 (*résumé*, *IV Rapp.* 9), and 1401 or, rather, 1395 (*résumé*, HG II 2.461). The regnal year of the first act is 24, that of the last 26: the date of the latter is incorrect. The year 1401 is the year 89 of the XIV Paschal Cycle (*k'oronikon*) of the Georgian Era. The numeral 89, expressed by the letters *p.t'* of the Military Alphabet (*mædruḡi*), can be easily an error for 83, in Georgian: *p.g.*, since the letter *g* in an erroneous, horizontal position looks like the letter *t'* of that alphabet. And the year 83 G.E. indeed corresponds to A.D. 1395 which is the 26th year after George's elevation to the co-kingship in 1369.

¹⁶ Cf. note on Constantine I.

¹⁷ *History* (HG I 2) 677; *Dates* 380.

¹⁸ Charter 4 Jul. 3 Const. I. 1408 (AG 3.461) mentions both his father Bagrat and his brother George; Thomas of Mecop' 37, 75-6; Šaraf ad-din, II (Calcutta 1888) 512.

¹⁹ Cf. above, n.11. George, already a co-king in 1369, could not have been a son of Anne Comnena, who was born in 1357 and who married in 1367. For David, cf. Panaretus 53.292.

of the King-Prophet David, the official ancestor of the Bagratids;²⁰ another princess of Trebizond, the wife of Demetrius II of Georgia, had given to one of her sons the typically Comnenian name of Manuel;²¹ and the Byzantine wife of David IV of Abasgo-Imeretia had named one of her sons Michael, another Constantine, and a third one Alexander.²² Precisely so, this imperial princess of Trebizond, Bagrat V's consort, brought with her into the Bagratid house the revered name of the founder of 'New Rome',²³ as well as the heroic names of the Macedonian conqueror and of his mother. The co-optation of George VII in 1369 may have been called for by the birth of Anne's first son, Constantine, to ensure George's rights in the face of a half-brother by a far more illustrious mother.

Constantine was George VII's ambassador extraordinary to Tamerlane in 1401;²⁴ and, in 1402, he came for a second time to the Court of Timur, at Mingöl, being then 'at war' with his royal half-brother; although the official

²⁰ Cf. Vasiliev, *The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond* 6; Toumanoff, 'On the Relationship Between the Founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar,' *Speculum* 15 (1940) 299ff.

²¹ *The Hist. of the Mongol Invasions* [last part of *The Georgian Annals*; MGH 176] (ed. T'qaišvili, QM) 719, 720, 734; *Tables* 1.624. This Comnenian princess must have been a daughter of Manuel I of Trebizond by his third, Georgian wife, Rusudan; she married Demetrius II in 1277, according to Vaxušt (HG I 2) 591 n.1, 579 n.3. Brosset suggested that she must have been Theodora, daughter of the same parents, who later became Empress of Trebizond (1285); *ibid.* His suggestion, however, is based on an erroneous reading of Panaretus 5.268: *φυγή κυρὰς Θεοδώρας τῆς Κομνηνῆς, θυγατρὸς πρώτης τοῦ μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ κύρ Μανουῆλ ἐκ τῆς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας Πουσούνραντας*, mistaking the last five words to refer to whence she fled and not, as is correct, to her parentage. She fled from Trebizond; cf. e.g., W. Miller, *Trebizond: the Last Greek Empire* (London 1926) 30. Since Theodora is called Manuel's 'first daughter', there must have been another, or others, who could have married Demetrius II.—The only other Bagratid named Manuel was the father of Smbat IV (†616/617); cf. J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig 1903) 436; cf. Toumanoff, 'The Early Bagratids,' *Le Muséon* 62 (1949) 1-2, 38; *Tables passim*.

²² According to the Georgian sources, David IV (cf. note on Alexander I) married a daughter of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus; *Hist. Mong. Inv.* 703, 721, 747; *Tables* 4.642. Pachymeres, on the other hand, reports that David married a natural daughter of Michael's sister-in-law, the wife of his brother, the Despot John, and daughter of the Sebastocrator Constantine Tornices; *De Mich. Palaeologo* 3.21. Two of David's sons were named Constantine and Michael, presumably for his queen's maternal grandfather Tornices and for the Emperor (who may have been her father after all?). Curiously enough, a recent student of the Palaeologan genealogy mistook David's wife for a daughter of the Despot John himself; A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453* (Munich 1938) 4-5 and Gen. Table.—The Tornicii may have been descended from the Bagratid princes of Taraun; N. Adontz, 'Les Taronites à Byzance,' *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 21-46.

²³ *Hist. Mong. Inv.* 719, qualifies the Trapezuntine father-in-law of Demetrius II as 'Emperor [lit. 'King of the Byzantines'] Comnenus who is of the House of the great Constantine'.

²⁴ *Hist. Inv. Tim.* 880; Šaraf ad-din, II 379 (the name of George's brother is not given here).

Georgian chronicler pretends that he was again on a mission.²⁵

The regnal years of Constantine I date (as his charter shows) from 1405. We must assume, therefore, this to be the year of George VII's death. Since Constantine was not co-opted by his father, it is difficult to presume that his half-brother, with whom he was not on friendly terms, should have done so. According to the system of chronology evolved by Vakhusht, and accepted by Georgian historiography, George died in 1407;²⁶ but then, according to the same system, Constantine would have died two years later (in 1414) than he actually did.²⁷ Obviously, this error is due to the fact that Vakhusht knew rather the length of Constantine's reign than the exact dates of his accession and death, both of which events he postdated by two years.

Constantine I fell in the war against the Qara-Qoyunlu chieftain, Qara-Yusuf, which he waged in alliance with the King of Shirvan and the Prince of Shakki. He was captured in a battle, north of the Araxes, in 1412, and slain by Qara-Yusuf's own hand. Three hundred Georgian knights perished with him.²⁸ The date of his death is confirmed by the fact that the regnal years of his successor are computed from 1412.²⁹ For Constantine's wife, cf. the note on Alexander I.³⁰

²⁵ *Ibid.* 512-4; *Hist. Inv. Tim.* 882.

²⁶ *Dates* 380; HG I 2.664, 667 n.2; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London 1932) 126; A. Gugushvili, 'The Chronological-Genealogical Table of the Kings of Georgia,' *Georgica* 1.1-2 (1936) 126-127.

²⁷ Cf. preceding note.

²⁸ 'Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandī, *Matla' al-sa'dayn* (Lahore 1360/1941) 243; Mīr-Xāwand, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, cited by V. Minorsky, 'Tiflis,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 4 (1934) 757. There is a certain chronological difficulty connected with the death of King Constantine. According to 'Abd al-Razzaq, Qara-Yusuf crossed the Araxes shortly after Ša'ban 12, 815 = Nov. 25, 1412, so that the battle in which the King of Georgia fell must have taken place sometime in the Winter of 1412-1413. Yet Alexander, his son, ascended the throne between Febr. 21 and Mar. 21, 1412, as is proved by his charters (cf. below, n.51); and the charter of the Prince-Chamberlain K'uc'na, written between the accession of Alexander and Dec. 7, 1412 (cf. below, n. 47), leaves no doubt as to Constantine's being deceased then (cf. below, n.45, IV). The information of the contemporary documents should carry more weight, in my estimation, than this work which in its final form dates from 1470. — 'Abd al-Razzaq states that Constantine was slain together with his *brothers*. It is quite admissible that, in addition to David, the King had other younger brothers unmentioned in the Georgian sources; yet the word 'brothers' may be used here in a broader sense of 'relatives,' or 'brothers-in-law' etc., and this information of a foreign author ought not to be accepted unconditionally without a confirmation from other sources.

²⁹ Cf. below, n.51.

³⁰ Constantine I has been occasionally styled 'the Second' by the older historians who counted the tenth-century usurping Abasgian ruler of that name as 'the First'. But, then, the other usurping Abasgians (another Constantine, two Georges, and Demetrius) have never been taken into account in establishing the ordinal numbers of the legitimate Kings of Georgia, which is as it ought to be; and at present Constantine is referred to as 'the First' (cf. e.g., Gugushvili, *op. cit.* 126-7. For the Abasgian subjection of Iberia (the nucleus of the Georgian State) in the ninth and the tenth century, until 978, cf. J II 378, 383-4, 385-9.

DAVID (*Davit'*). — Third son of Bagrat V, his second by Anne of Trebizond; he was captured, together with his parents by Timur, in 1386.³¹ He is last mentioned in the *Zedginidze Petition*³² as making his submission to Bagrat VI (*q.v.*) in 1465. Difficult though it may be to think of him as still alive at this late date, we must nevertheless admit that the 'Prince royal (*batonišvil*) David' of 1465 was the son of Bagrat V, for the only other David in the royal family was the Katholikos of Iberia, David III (*q.v.*) who died *c.* 1457. The prestige of this David's great age and his position as the last surviving member of a preceding generation of the royal house may account for the fact that the above source explicitly mentions his recognition of Bagrat VI.³³

OLYMPIAS (*Ulumpia*). — Daughter of Bagrat V and sister of the then reigning King George VII, as revealed by her charter of 1399/1405 (*résumé*, IV. *Rapp.*10).³⁴ By this instrument she institutes an *agape*³⁵ for the late Prince-Chamberlain of Georgia, Kakhaber Chidjavadze; in it her son Sazverel is also mentioned: Sazverel Chidjavadze last appears in a document of 1488.³⁶ The Prince-Chamberlain Kakhaber and his consort Ul <um> pia are mentioned also in a *synodicon* (MS No. 54) from Mt. Sinai.³⁷

³¹ Panaretus 53.292; Thomas of Mecop' 37, 75-6; cf; *Tables* 1.625 and the notes on Bagrat V and Constantine I.

³² Undated fifteenth-century document addressed by a member of the House of Zedginije to the King of Georgia; ed. AG 4; cf. J IV 93, 88-9.

³³ *The Bridge Ch.* 887, relates a wholly imaginary story of David's flight to the Kakhetian province of Didoet'i and of his being proclaimed there, after the death of George VII, 'King of Iberia and Kakhetia'; of his reign and that of his son, another King George; of the latter's marriage to Nat'ia, daughter of the Prince-Chamberlain K'uc'na; and of the their son, the great Alexander. Apart from other arguments against the historicity of this tale (cf. note on Alexander I), its very chronology is untenable. Bagrat married in 1367 the ten-year-old Anne. Even if David had been their first son (which he was not), he could not have been born before, let us say, 1369. Alexander I, on the other hand, was born in 1390, when his presumed grandfather was at the most about twenty!

³⁴ The approximate date of the document is determined by the combined mention of George VII as 'King of Kings', i.e., King-regnant (cf. below, chap. II), 1395-1405, and of the Katholikos of Iberia, Elias, 1399-1419 (e.g., R. Janin, 'Géorgie,' DThC 6 [1924] 1271). — Olympias was neither known to Vaxušt nor mentioned in the *Hist. Inv. Tim.*; therefore Brosset, who could not well dismiss her charter altogether, placed her in *Tables* (1.625) only as a doubtful member of Bagrat V's family. And yet the evidence of this document can in no way be vitiated by the silence, not unusual in Georgian chronicles, regarding daughters of the royal house; cf. *The Founder of the Emp. of Trebizond and the Georg. Queen Thamar* 305ff., 309ff.

³⁵ In the Georgian Church the term *aġapi* meant a commemorative meal or distribution of victuals, offered to ecclesiastics, the poor, or passers-by, accompanying the funeral service on the anniversary of the departed. The celebration of *agapae* (which seems to be a pagan survival, though deriving its name from an early Christian practice) was assured in perpetuity by legacies and foundations; Janin, DThC s.v. 'Géorgie' 1264; Javaxišvili, *Sak'art'velos Ekonomiuri Istoria* I (Tiflis 1903) 93ff.; Brosset, *Introduction* cxiv.

³⁶ Ed. *Sas. Sigel*. 25

³⁷ A. C'agareli, 'Pamātniki Gruzinskoy Starinī v Svātōy Zemlě i na Sinaē,' *Pravoslavniy Palestinskiy Sbornik* 6 (1888) 220.

That Olympias's mother was Anne of Trebizond has been determined above (note on Constantine I). Her husband, Kakhaber the son of Chidjava or Chizhava, was a scion of the House of the Kakhaberidzes, Dukes of Racha, as is proved by his inscription in the Kakhaberid family-abbey of Mghvime, in that duchy, in Imeretia. According to the interpretation of that inscription by a recent authority, he appears to have been himself a Duke of Racha, as Kakhaber VI; though this is by no means certain.³⁸ The Kakhaberidzes were a branch of the Liparitid house, known later under the name of Orbeli or Orbeliani.³⁹ They were enfeoffed of Racha, from the eleventh or twelfth century to the thirteenth, though they appear to have maintained themselves in it till the fifteenth.⁴⁰ The princely house of Chidjavadze continued to play an important role in Imeretia down to the end of that kingdom.⁴¹

ALEXANDER (*Alek'sandre*) I. — Eldest son of Constantine I, as is attested by the charter 4 Jul. 3 Const. I. 1408 (AG 3.461), which begins with the words: 'In the Name of God, Constantine the Bagratid, son of Bagrat, and Our beloved sons, Alexander, Bagrat, and George . . .', and by the charter 25 Dec. 1 Geo. VIII. 1447 (Z 259-60), in which Alexander's son refers to Constantine I's brother, George VII as 'Our grandfather's brother.' This utterly invalidates Vakhush't's assertion that Alexander was a son of George VII.⁴² Although some modern Georgian scholars have accepted the evidence of the primary sources for this matter,⁴³ the eighteenth-century error of Vakhush't has to this day been perpetuated by other, especially western, historians.⁴⁴

King Alexander's mother and, consequently, King Constantine's wife was Natia, daughter of the Prince-Chamberlain of Georgia, Kutzna and of his wife Rusa (Rusudan).⁴⁵ There is little information at our disposal regarding

³⁸ G. Ceret'eli, 'Arxeologičeskaâ Progulka po Kviril'skomu Ušchel'ŭ,' *Materiali po Arxeologii Kavkaza* 7 (1898) 93ff. — Ceret'eli refers, erroneously, to Olympias' husband as Kaxaber III.

³⁹ For the House of Orbeliani, cf. note on Alexander I.

⁴⁰ S. Kakabaje, 'K Voprosu o Ktitorax Mg'vime v Imeretii,' *Bulletin de l'Institut caucasien d'histoire et d'archéologie* 4 (1926) 126-7. — In the fifteenth century, the Duchy of Rača passed to the House of Č'xe(t)ije; *ibid.*; Vaxušt, *Geogr. Descr.* 48-9.

⁴¹ *Spiski* 98. The Kakhetian house of Čavčavaje may be a branch of it.

⁴² Cf. *Tables* 1.625. — In his charter, George VIII speaks of the invasion of Timur 'at the time of Our grandfather's brother, the King of Kings George'=žamsa papis jmisa č'uenisa, mep'et'-mep'isa giorgissa. Brosset was perplexed by this document, so definitely militating against Vaxušt's genealogical construction; *IV Rapp.* 20. The responsibility for the erroneous notion that Alexander I was the son of a King George cannot, however, be laid exclusively to Vaxušt's door. It seems to have been a common eighteenth-century error, found in the Continuations of the Annals and in one of Vaxušt's sources, the charter of the Barat'ads from Bethania Abbey, copied in 1704 (cf. above, n.9), and it appears to have arisen from a certain confusion regarding the filiation of Bagrat VI (*q.v.*).

⁴³ Cf. e.g., J IV 7-20; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 126-7.

⁴⁴ Cf. Allen, *History* 126. Brosset was somewhat puzzled by the divergence between Vaxušt, the *Bridge Chron.* (cf. above, n.33), and the documents; cf. *Tables* 1.625.

⁴⁵ This is proved by the combined evidence of the following sources: (I) A fifteenth-

Queen Natia's family: it may have been the Meschian house of Khurtzidze, but this is by no means certain.⁴⁶ Kutzna himself, as his own charter of 1412⁴⁷ (Z 209) reveals, was Ambassador at Constantinople until the time of King Alexander's birth.

Alexander I was born in Kakhetia⁴⁸ in 1390.⁴⁹ By 1408, he was co-opted

century MS of *agapae* has: 'May God have mercy on the soul of Alexander, illustrious among all the kings and Sovereign Lord of All the East even to the West; may God have mercy on the soul of his mother, the former Nat'ia, now [nun] Nino'; ed. Z 208. (The *Bridge Chron.* 887, while giving a wrong name to Alexander's father, concurs with this document in naming his mother, a daughter of the Prince-Chamberlain K'uc'na, Nat'ia; above, n.33).—(II) Charter 20 Sept. 1 Alex. I. 1413 (K 3.7-10; Z 220) whereby Alexander founds an *agape* for his grandmother Rusa, who had directed his education and had undertaken, after the devastations of Timur, the restoration of the primatial cathedral at Mc'xet'a, in the course of which he died. (J IV 14 supposes that she undertook to bring up Alexander after Queen Nat'ia had taken the veil. But this is unlikely, as the latter would hardly have taken that step before the death of Constantine I, in the winter of 1412; and Alexander ascended the throne, aged twenty-two, immediately thereafter; cf. below.) (The *Hist. Alex. I* is in agreement with this charter: it mentions Rusa, the Prince-Chamberlain K'uc'na's wife, who brought up her grandson, King Alexander; p. 888.).—(III) Charter 19 Alex. I. 1431 [I] (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 15) whereby the King institutes an *agape* for the Prince-Chamberlain (though no name is given).—(IV) Charter of 1412 of K'uc'na himself (Z 209): in connection with the restoration of the Abbey of Ulumba, he founds *agapae* for his wife Rusa, King Alexander [then reigning, hence mentioned first], King Constantine, Queen Nat'ia [the latter's wife, else she would not precede the following], King George [VIII], and Queen Rusudan (erstwhile protectress of the family). Cf. J IV 15-6. It is difficult to see why Javaxišvili should so hesitatingly have admitted what is so unmistakably patent in the light of the above combined evidence; J IV 13-6.

⁴⁶ In his charter K'uc'na mentions his forefather, of the same praenomen, as having been Prince-Constable of Georgia under Queen Rusudan (1223-1245). But, unfortunately, between the constableness of Zacharias II Mxargrjeli, who died in 1212(*The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns* [part of *The Georgian Annals*: MGH 175-6] ed. T'aqaišvili, QM 525), and that of his nephew Avak-Sargis III Mxargrjeli, who filled that office from 1233/4 to 1250 (*Hist. Mong. Inv.* 570-668; for the date of his accession, cf. G. Yovsepyan, *Xalbakyan' kam P'rošyank'* [Valaršapad 1928] 98-100), the incumbents of it are not known to us. The praenomen *K'urc'ik* (*Xurc'ik*), born by K'uc'na's grandfather (according to his charter), may possibly suggest that he belonged to the Meschian feudal house of Xurc'ikije or Xurc'ije (for which cf. T'aqaišvili, 'Arxeologičeskii Ėkspursii etc.,' *Sbornik Materialov* for the Description of the Peoples and Localities of Caucasia 35 [1905] 1-60). This problem is treated more fully in the dissertation referred to above, n.3 (pp. 80-83).—A fresco portrait of the Prince-Chamberlain K'uc'na is found on one of the three remaining walls of the church at Nebaxt'evi, near the village of Brili, in the Gori district; M. Xaxanov considers it, and the church, as belonging to the sixteenth century; 'Ėkspedicii na Kavkaz,' *Materiali po Arxeologii Kavkaza* 7.65. He may possibly have postdated both the building and the painting.

⁴⁷ The date of this undated document is determined by the fact that Alexander is mentioned as king-regnant (after Febr. 21/Mar. 1412; cf. nn.45 and 51) and K'uc'na's wife Rusa (†Dec. 7, 1412; cf. n.49) as still living. *Agapae* might, to be sure, be founded in the lifetime of their eventual beneficiaries.

⁴⁸ This is implied in K'uc'na's charter.

⁴⁹ Charter 10 Sept. 8 Alex. I. 1420 (K 3.10-12; Z 226) states that Alexander was aged

by his father;⁵⁰ and he succeeded him on the throne of Georgia some time between February 21 and March 21, 1492.⁵¹ He abdicated in 1442 and became a monk under the name of Athanasius.⁵² His death occurred between August 26, 1445 and March 7, 1446.⁵³ His appellation 'the Great', adopted in Georgian historiography, dates almost from his own day.⁵⁴

The King married, first, Dulandukht, daughter of Beshken II Orbeliani, Prince of Siunia.⁵⁵ This must have taken place c. 1410/1411.⁵⁶ By 1414/1415,

twenty-two when he undertook the restoration of Mc'xet'a, after the destructions of Timur. But from the charter 20 Sept. 1 Alex.I. 1413 (K 3.7-10; Z 220) we learn that it was his grandmother Rusa who had begun that work and died in the course of it (cf. above, n.45 II). It is clear, then, that Alexander merely continued the work. Rusa appears as still living in K'uc'na's charter, written after the accession of Alexander (Febr. 21/Mar. 21, 1412; cf. n.51); she is mentioned as deceased in the latter's charter of Sept. 20, 1413. Since the *agape* for Rusa's soul, instituted by that act, was to take place on St. Ambrose's day (Dec. 7, according to the Byzantine calendar), we may assume that she died on Dec. 7, 1412. Being aged twenty-two, when the task of restoration was left to him in 1412, Alexander must have been born in 1390; cf. J IV 10-11. The charter 22 Sept. 7 Alex.I. 1419 (Z 224) states that the King was aged twenty-four when he began the restoration, but the document is a seventeenth-century copy; J IV 11. Brosset knew only this act and concluded that Alexander was born in 1389, since he counted his reign from 1413; *IV Rapp.* 12, 13.

⁵⁰ Cf. below, chap. II.

⁵¹ J IV 7-10 (on the basis of the analysis of 18 charters, from 20 Sept. 1 Alex. I. 1413 [K 3.10; Z 220] to 29 Alex. I. 1441 [K 3.24]).

⁵² *Hist. Alex. I.* 889; following note; cf. J IV 35-6.

⁵³ Charter of Mar. 7, 1446 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 21), issued by 'George . . . son of the King of Kings and monk, the blessed [*sanatrel* = *μακάριος*, i.e., 'late'] Alexander'; charter of Aug. 26, 1445 (Z 257), issued by 'King Demetrius, son of the King of Kings Alexander'; had Alexander died before the issuance of this document, he would have been referred to as 'late' in it. *Hist. Alex. I.* 891 records his death after 1445. Thomas of Mecop' 146, claims that the King developed an ulcer of the stomach a year after the supposed murder of his father-in-law, Bešk'en II of Siunik' (cf. below).

⁵⁴ Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II), *Epistolarum lib.* I (Basel 1571) 852: George VIII's ambassador is described as *Nicolaus orator Georgii Alexandri magni regis*.

⁵⁵ Thomas of Mecop' 144. Bešk'en fled to the Court of Georgia, having been despoiled of his principedom by the Timurid Šāh-Rux, and received from Alexander the fortress-city of Lori. Thomas would have us believe that Alexander caused, in 1437/8, the poisoning of his father-in-law; *ibid.* 144-146. Nève suggests this may have been due to his fear of a possible revival of the Orbeliani power; *ibid.* 153-154 (for the Orbelianis, cf. below). — The Queen's name is revealed by the charter 20 Sept. 1 Alex. I. 1413 (K 3.7-10; Z 220), issued by 'the King of Kings, the Lord Alexander and the Queen of Queens, the Lady Dulanduxt'. These words figure at the end of the document, its initial part having been lost. It is difficult to see why Javaxišvili should have hesitated to accept this text as an evidence for the praenomen of Alexander's first wife only because Dulanduxt is not expressly so called and because we do not know what the lost opening part contained; J IV 19-20. What else could she have been? Her title, Queen of Queens, shows her to be the wife of a king-regnant (cf. below, chap. II n.27). Of all the female members of a sovereign's family, only his consort and occasionally—but then with a specification—his mother were mentioned in royal diplomata. Since Dulanduxt was not Alexander's mother and

Queen Dulandukht must have died or been repudiated, to make way for Alexander's second wife, the heiress of Imeretia.⁵⁷ The Liparitid house, known since the eleventh century under the name of Orbeli or Orbeliani,⁵⁸ is now believed by specialists to be descended from the Armenian dynastic race of the Mamikonids.⁵⁹ From its appearance in Georgia, c. 876,⁶⁰ to the end of the

since her relationship is *not* further specified, we must assume that she was his wife. — L. Ališan states, citing Thomas of Mecop', that Alexander was a brother-in-law of Bešk'en; *Sisakan* (Venice 1893) 96 and Stemma ad p. 92. The text of Thomas 144, it is true, is vague enough to admit of the interpretation that Bešken II was a grandson and not (as is correct) a great-grandson of Būrt'el II of Siunik', nevertheless Thomas makes it quite clear that Bešk'en II's paternal uncle was Būrt'el II's grandson; Ališan 96 n.2.

⁵⁶ Cf. below, n.65.

⁵⁷ Hence possibly the unhappy relations with his father-in-law, Bešk'en of Siunik'; hence also, presumably (whether or not Alexander was, in addition, responsible for Bešk'en's death), his expiatory act of entering a monastery; and hence, finally, the official silence of the Georgian chroniclers regarding his first wife. On the analogous case of David II of Georgia's repentance after the repudiation of his first wife and the official silence regarding her, cf. Z. Avalishvili, 'The Cross from Overseas,' *Georgica* 1.2-3 (1936) 3-11.

⁵⁸ 'Orbeli' is the territorial epithet derived from the castle of Orbet'i (Samšvilde), in the Duchy of Samšvilde, in Lower Iberia (cf. Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 166/167). The older form 'Orbeli' was later replaced by 'Orbeliani', originally the collective name of the gens. The Armenian branch was called 'Örbēlean'. The Liparitids were also known under the name of 'Bağuaši'.

⁵⁹ N. Adonc' (Adontz), *Armenia v Epoxu Yustiniana* (St. Petersburg 1908) 402-4; E. Taqaišvili, 'Georgian Chronology and the Beginnings of Bagratid Rule in Georgia,' *Georgica* 1.1 (1935) 20-1. Like the Mamikonids, the Liparitids claimed Chinese imperial descent and the gentilitia title of Čen-Bakur (later *Jambakur*), i.e., 'Son of Heaven of China' (=Pers. *bağpūr*=Ind. *devaputra*=Chin. *t'ien-tzu*; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge* 133-4; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* [Marburg 1895] 240). Cf. H. Scöld, 'L'origine des Mami-coniens,' *Revue des études arméniennes* 5.1 (1925) 131-6; K. Mlaker, 'Die Herkunft der Mamikonier und der Titel Čenbakur,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 39 (1932) 133-45; Justi, *op. cit.* 424-5; Adonc', *op. cit.* chaps. 10, 11; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* (Paris 1919) 90; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie* (Paris 1947) 290-1, 641. Cf. Stephen Örbēlean, *The History of the Orbelians* (ed. J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* II, Paris 1819); J. Saint-Martin, 'Dissertation sur la famille des Orbélians,' *Mémoires* II; Brosset, *Additions* 213-5, 257-64, 317-29, 334-9, 346-61; Ališan, *Sisakan* 92-8. — Exactly as the Mamikonids were the hereditary High Constables of Armenia (Adonc', 282-3, 370), so the Liparitids were enfeoffed of the office of Prince-Constable of Georgia; and the struggle against the Bagratids, carried on by the former in Armenia and by the latter in Georgia, had the character of a family feud. The policy of the early Liparitids was pro-Armenian (cf. Allen, *History* 86) and it was to Armenia that the principal branch of the house retired after the disgrace of 1177 (cf. below). It will be recalled that a Mamikonid prince, Artavazd, later imperial Strategus of the Anatolics, fled to Georgia in 771 and held fiefs there (cf. Grousset, *op. cit.* 324) and that there have been other Georgian houses, e.g., the T'umanids, deducing their descent from the Mamikonid dynasty (N. Marr in *Xristianskiy Vostok* [1913] 2.144-145; G. Chahnazarian, *Histoire . . . par . . . Ghévond* [Paris 1865] 13 n.2). It is true that Stephen Örbēlean, Archbishop of Siunik' (†1304), the historian of his house, alleged that his ancestors had come to Georgia directly from China (at a remote epoch before our era).

Kingdom, and in the Russian Empire thereafter, this house occupied the summit of the feudal hierarchy of the country.⁶¹ In the eleventh century, the Liparitids reached the apogee of their might and remained, for a century, leaders of the feudality in its struggle against the growing power of the Bagratid Crown.⁶² Finally, however, the King of Georgia succeeded, in 1177, in crushing the recalcitrance of this house and in expelling to Armenia its principal branch. That branch, then, acquired the Principality of Siunia;⁶³ it was to this branch that Queen Dulandukht belonged.⁶⁴

and omitted all mention of their Armenian past. But then, his sources must have been affected by the same nascent nationalism of the Georgia of the eleventh century (and later) which made the family historian of the Bagratids, Sumbat, omit *their* Armenian origin and trace that house directly from Judaea to Georgia (cf. *Streifzüge* 391-403; MGH 154-5; *The Early Bagratids* 22-3). Actually, the first historical Liparitids appear in Georgia in the ninth century — the epoch of the decline of the Mamikonids in Armenia.

⁶⁰ Ca. 876, Liparit I 'took possession of the lands of T'rialet'i and reared the castle of Klde-Karni'; *The Chronicle of Iberia* [part of *The Georgian Annals*; cf. MGH 173-174] (ed. QM 224; ed. QA: S. Qauxč'išvili, *K'art'lis-C'xovreba: Ana Dedop'liseuli Nusxa*, Tiflis 1942) 164. These fiefs lay in Lower Iberia; Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 190/191.

⁶¹ The House of Orbeliani ranked, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as fourth among the 'undivided' princes of Iberia (*mt'avar-s*, cf. above, n.8) and was enfeoffed of the princedom of South Sabarat'iano, comprising the Duchies of Samšilde and Xunani and the offices of Constable of the Van (Sabarat'iano) and (jointly with the Houses of Muxrani and P'anaskerteli) of Prince-Master of the Palace of Georgia; Vaxtang VI, King of Georgia, *Code of Laws* §35 (ed. J. Karst, *Code géorgien du roi Vakhtang VI*, Strasbourg 1934); Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 40/41, 46/47; Heraclius II, King of Georgia, *A Short Description of the Princely and Noble Houses of Georgia* (cited by M. Xaxanov, *Gruzinskie Dvorānskie Akti i Rodoslovnā Rospisi*, Moscow 1893) vi; *Akti* 2 (Tiflis 1867) 39-43 [List of the last occupants of the great Crown offices of Georgia]; Karst, *Code géorgien: Comment.* I 228ff.; V. N. Ivanenko, *Graždanskoe Upravlenie Zakavkaz'em* (vol. 12 of *Utverždenie Russkago Vladičestva na Kavkazě* ed. V. A. Potto, St. Petersburg 1901) 9; Pr. Peter Dolgorukov, *Rossiyskaā Rodoslovnā Kniga* III (St. Petersburg 1856) 475-6; II (1855) 62-3; *Spiski* 36-7, 67-8.

⁶² Thus in 1045-1046 Liparit IV, Duke of T'rialet'i, Argvet'i, Lower and Upper Iberia, Prince-Constable of Georgia, and Magister and general of the Roman Empire of the East, forced King Bagrat IV of Georgia, through the mediation of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus, to cede to himself one half of the Realm (south of the Kur); *Chron. Iber.* (ed. Qauxč'išvili=QA) 185-91=QM 260-7; Cedrenus (PG 122) 304-5; cf. Allen, *History* 85-94, 102-3. (On the pages of CMH 4 [1923] 166, the powerful Liparit IV has become 'Liparid, King of Georgia', possibly *via* Ibn al-Aθīr's 'Lifarīt, King of the Ap̄xāz', cf. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires* II 214-6.)

⁶³ It is difficult to understand how S. Runciman, who, in chap. 8 of *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign* (Cambridge 1929), has presented with a great penetration the picture of the Caucasian frontier of the Eastern Empire, could have confused the old house of Siunik' (cf. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Arm.* 291, 245; Laurent, *L'Arménie* 275-6; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch* 426-7; Ališan, *Sisakan* 6-19) with the second Siunian dynasty, the Orbelians, established there only after 1177; cf. Runciman, *op. cit.* 153, 160ff. and 'The Geneal. Trees' between pp. 262 and 263, referring to the first dynasty as 'Orbelians of Siounia'.

⁶⁴ Brosset, *Additions* 362-7; Ališan, *Sisakan* 92-8, Stemma ad p. 92; Justi, *Iran. Namen-*

Shortly after his accession, c. 1414/1415, the King married his second wife, Tamar, daughter of Alexander, Duke of Imeretia.⁶⁵ The House of Imeretia, Bagratid in the female line, was descended from the great Queen Tamar's daughter, Queen Rusudan and her consort, son of Mughithaddin-Tughril-Shah, the Seljukid Prince of Erzerum.⁶⁶ Their son David (IV) was co-opted by his mother the Queen in 1234, to the exclusion of her nephew, also David (V), the son of her late brother, King George IV — although it was for the protection of the nephew's minority that King George had provided for her succession to the throne. The Mongols, who in the meantime had enforced their suzerainty on Georgia, finally recognized the two Davids as joint-Kings of Georgia, in 1250. Eight years later, however, David IV Narin, Rusudan's son, seceded in Abasgia (Western Georgia), now to be called Imeretia, as an independent sovereign.⁶⁷

Of the four generations of David Narin's posterity, the last three are known almost exclusively from Vakhusht — which information must be accepted for the lack of any other — and the chronology computed by the 'Georgian Gibbon' stands in need of revision. The fortunes of the Imeretian Seljukids appear to have waned and waxed in reverse proportion to those of Georgia. Profiting by her weakness, they continually strove to secure both the royal dignity and the independence of her sceptre, only to find themselves again reduced to the position of vassal dukes, when stronger hands wielded that sceptre again. Tamar's father, and his brothers after him, seem to have proclaimed themselves kings, taking advantage of the invasions of Timur in Georgia. Nevertheless, the Kings of Georgia not only deprived the Seljukid house of all hope

buch 446. — The historian Stephen Ōrbēlean, Archbishop of Siunik' (†1304), was Bešk'en II's great-great-granduncle.

⁶⁵ Vaxtang IV and Demetrius III (*qq.v.*) appear as early as 1413 in the charters of their father, King Alexander; this is likewise the year in which Queen Dulanduxt is mentioned in a document (cf. n.55). Queen Tamar appears first in the charter 10 Sept. 8 Alex. I. 1420 (K 3.10-12; Z 226) and possibly in the acephalous charter 29 Sept. 5 Alex. I. 1417 (Z 223-4); J IV 19. It is in 1417 that Alexander's sons George VIII and David (*qq.v.*) begin to figure in documents, together with Tamar. Since the two sons by Dulanduxt appear already in 1413, Alexander's first marriage must have taken place c. 1410/1411; and since the first two of Tamar's sons appear in 1417, Alexander must have married for the second time c. 1414/1415. According to Vaxušt, that event occurred in 1414; *History* (HG II 1) 249; cf. *Tables* 625; J IV 19-20.

⁶⁶ *Hist. Mong. Inv.* 571 calls him 'son of Ortul', i.e., of Tūgril(-šāh). Upon the division of the Iconian Realm by his father Qilij-Arslān II, in 1192, Tūgril-šāh received Abulustayn in appanage; but he exchanged it, in 1200-1201, for Erzerum; cf. K. V. Zetterstéen, Tūghril-shāh b. Kilidj-Arslān, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* Suppl. 5 (1938) 251. A vassal of Georgia, Tūgril-šāh, caused, according to Ibn al-Aʿīr, 12,270, his son to embrace Christianity in order to marry Queen Rusudan; *ibid.*; Minorsky, *Encycl. Islam* s.v. 'Tiflis' 756. Rukn ad-dīn-Jahān-šāh, who succeeded his father Tūgril-šāh in Erzerum in 1225, must be distinct from Rusudan's prince consort, whose name has not been recorded in the available sources, unless we so construe the passage of Abū'l Fida, *ad ann. H* 620, as to infer that he was named Muḡīṯ ad-dīn like his father; cf. Brosset, HG I 2.501 n.2.

⁶⁷ Cf. Allen, *History* chaps. 9, 10.

of achieving independence, but even temporarily dispossessed Tamar's brother, Demetrius. Through her brother's forfeiture, Tamar must have become heiress of Imeretia; and in marrying her, King Alexander may have sought to legitimize, as it were, in the eyes of the feudality his acquisition of that important fief, which to many must have looked like a despoliation of a great house. After his marriage, however, Alexander appears to have restored her brother, the last Seljukid Demetrius, as a vassal duke of Imeretia (perhaps because he was already then known to be childless, or perhaps only nominally).

It will not be devoid of interest to append here the stemma of the Imeretian Seljukids, which will be referred to below, in connection with the origin of Bagrat VI and the Bagratid Royal House of Imeretia.⁶⁸ (See page 183.)

A charter issued by Queen Tamar in 1433 (AG 2.330) has come down to us. It is a rather curious one, in that she styles herself *mep'e*, which designates a reigning sovereign of royal rank, and not *dedop'al*, which is used of a sovereign's wife.⁶⁹ This may be due to a conscious imitation of the great Tamar, who was a queen-regnant *suo jure*;⁷⁰ or she may have assumed that title as heir to the Seljukid kingdom of Imeretia.⁷¹

BAGRAT AND GEORGE. — Sons of Constantine I,⁷² elevated by him to the co-kingship c. 1408.⁷³ More will be said of them in the note on Bagrat VI.

THE EMPRESS OF TREBIZOND. — Daughter of Alexander I. She married in 1425 John (Καλωιάνης) (Grand) Comnenus, co-Emperor, and subsequently Emperor-regnant, of Trebizond (c. 1417-1429-1458).⁷⁴ She must have been a daughter of the Princess Orbeliani, and possibly even older than her full brothers, being born c. 1411/1412; for her father married a second time c. 1414/1415 and she could hardly have been younger than ten when she married. The Emperor John IV was a grandson of Manuel III and Gulkan-

⁶⁸ For the Imeretian Seljukids and the above stemma, cf. *Hist. Mong. Inv.*; Vaxušt, *History* (HG I 2) 647, 668, (II 1) 245-9; *Dates; Tables* 4.642. 1.624-5; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 123, 125, 128; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanover 1927) 143-4; and above, nn. 22, 66. — Rusudan's daughter, Tamar married, in 1236, her second cousin, Giyāth ad-dīn-Kayxusraw II, Sultan of Iconium, who chose the emblem of the lion and the sun to commemorate the occasion; *Hist. Mong. Inv.* 571; art. 'Kaikhusraw II,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2 (1927) 639-40.

⁶⁹ Cf. MGHL 157 n.44. Georgian knows no distinction of genders. Cf. below, II n.27.

⁷⁰ For Tamar the Great, cf. Allen, *History* 103-8.

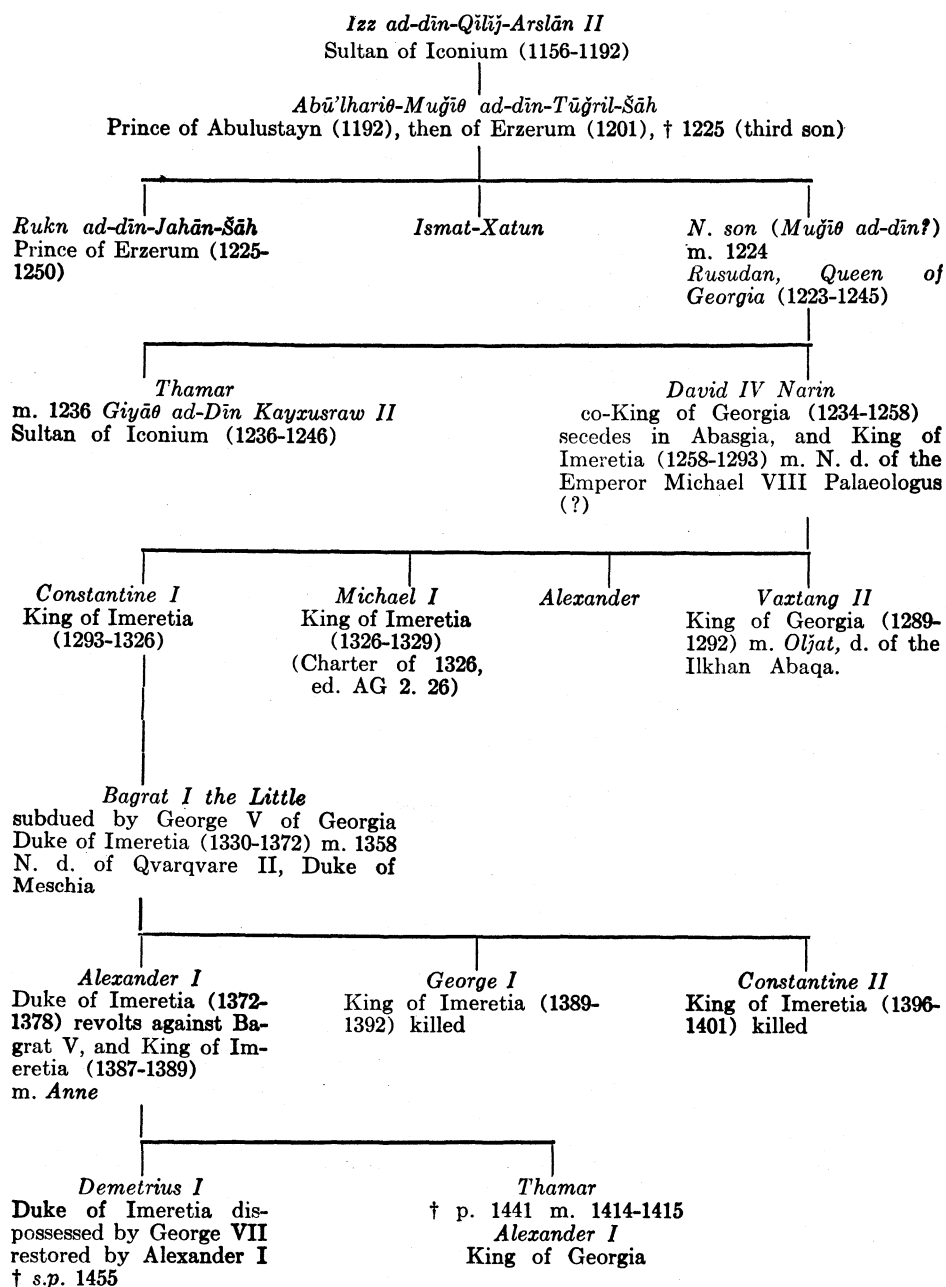
⁷¹ Some scholars at first believed the charter to have been actually issued by Tamar the Great and proposed the emendation of the date 121 of the XIV Paschal Cycle of G.E. (1433) to 421 of the XIIIth (1201); T'aqaišvili, AG 2.371-372.

⁷² Charter 4 Jul. 3 Const. I. 1408 (AG 3.461); charters of Alexander I of 1414 (K 2.3-4), Sept. 22, 1419 (Z 224), Sept. 10, 1420 (K 3.10-12; Z 226), Jan. 6, 1424 (Z 228). *Bridge Chr.* 887 mentions them as Alexander's brothers. Not mentioned by Vaxušt, they were but doubtfully admitted by Brosset in *Tables* 1.625. — The *Matla' al-sa'dayn* 432 records the arrival at the court of Šāh-Rux of Alexander's representative and of the sons of Constantine, at the end of 1420.

⁷³ Cf. below, chap. II.

⁷⁴ Laonicus Chalcocondyles, *De reb. turc.* 9 (PG 159.456).

STEMMA OF THE IMERETIAN SELJUKIDS



Eudocia of Georgia; thus, he was his consort's double second cousin once removed.⁷⁵ The Empress must have died — or been repudiated? — before 1438, when, according to Pero Tafur, who then visited Trebizond, John IV had a Turkish wife.⁷⁶

VAKHTANG IV. — Eldest son of King Alexander, by his first wife, having been born before 1413.⁷⁷ He was raised to the co-kingship by his father in 1433,⁷⁸ succeeded him in 1442, and died without issue in 1446.⁷⁹ In 1442, Vakhtang married Sitikhatun, daughter of Prince Zaza I Panaskerteli.⁸⁰ The Meschian house of Panaskert,⁸¹ whereof the territorial epithet of Panaskerteli is derived, had come into prominence with Zacharias of Panaskert, who, together with some other feudal lords, put down in 1192 the second rebellion of Guzan, Duke of Klardjeti and Shavsheti, against Queen Tamar;⁸² the house had been subsequently enfeoffed of the Duchy of Tao.⁸³ Queen Sitikhatun's father, Prince Zaza I, removed in 1467 from Meschia to Lower Iberia, where he obtained from Constantine II (then a co-king of Bagrat VI, *qq.v.*) the fiefs of Khvedureti and Kareli. These formed the principedom of the house, later known as Satzitziano, a name derived from the patronymic of Tzitzishvili, which was borne by Zaza I's posterity.⁸⁴ The Queen died in 1444.⁸⁵

⁷⁵ For John IV and his dates, cf. Miller, *Trebizond* 81-96; A. Vasiliev, 'Pero Tafur, a Spanish Traveler of the XVth Century and His Visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy,' *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 99-101. — Manuel III of Trebizond was the brother of Anne, Bagrat V's queen, and the husband of Bagrat's sister Gulk'an-Eudocia; cf. above, note on Bagrat V.

⁷⁶ Pero Tafur, *Andanças e viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidas* (1435-1439) (ed. Marcos de la Espada, *Collección de libros españoles raros o curiosos* 8, Madrid 1874) 159-60.

⁷⁷ His father's charters from 20 Sept. 1 Alex. I. 1413 (K 3.7-10; Z 220) to 1442 (Z 253), where Vaxtang always precedes Demetrius; *Hist. Alex. I.* 889-91; *Tables* 1.625.

⁷⁸ Cf. below, chap. II.

⁷⁹ *Hist. Alex. I.* 890-1; *Tables* 1.625; cf. J IV 38-9; *Chron. géorg.* 2/3 puts his death at 1447.

⁸⁰ *Hist. Alex. I.* 889; *Chron. géorg.* 2/3 ('Sil-Xat'un'); *Tables* 1.625. Both the *Hist. Alex. I.* and the *Chron. géorg.* call her 'daughter of the P'anaskertel and sister of T'aqa P'anaskerteli.' T'aqa appears in the available documents — late in life, it should seem — in the charter of Bagrat III of Imeretia of 1511 (*Sas. Sigel.* 28), together with his elder brothers Zacharias and C'ic'i. Zacharias P'anaskerteli, on the other hand, is mentioned in Constantine II's letters-patent of 1467 (*Sas. Sigel.* 30-31), together with his elder brothers and his father, Prince Zaza. Sitixat'un, who married in 1442, must have been the oldest of the eight known children of Zaza I.

⁸¹ P'anaskert, the patrimonial castle of the family, was situated in the Duchy of Tao, on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Čoroxi; Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 118/119.

⁸² *Hist. and Eul. of the Sov.* 445.

⁸³ Dolgorukov, *Rossiyskaâ Rodoslovnaâ Kniga* II 45-6. T'aqa P'anaskerteli, Duke of Tao, defeated the Turkomans invading Georgia c. 1302, at T'ort'omi Castle; *Hist. Mong. Inv.* 767.

⁸⁴ Invested with the principedom of Sac'ic'iano — comprising Xveduret'i, Kareli and other seigniories, and the hereditary offices of Constable of the Royal Banner (Tiflis) and (jointly with the Houses of Muxrani and Orbeliani) of Prince-Master of the Palace of

DEMETRIUS (*Dimitri*) III. — Second son of Alexander I, by his first wife, he was born, like his elder brother, before 1413.⁸⁶ Vakhusht erred in making him a younger brother of George VIII (*q.v.*): Demetrius first appears in the charter 20 Sept. 1 Alex. I. 1413 (K 3.7-10; Z 220), and in all his father's acts he precedes George, the earliest mention of whom is found in the charter 29 Sept. 5 Alex. I 1417 (Z 223-4). Vakhusht, moreover, omitted Demetrius from the list of the Kings of Georgia.⁸⁷ Demetrius was co-opted by his father in 1433.⁸⁸ He was sent by him as ambassador to Shah-Rukh, Timur's son.⁸⁹ When Alexander I renounced the throne in 1442 in favor of Vakhtang IV, Demetrius was left as a co-king with the latter, whereas Alexander's third son, the co-King George (VIII), had been appanaged in Kakhetia. The passage in the *Hist. Alex. I.* relating the old King's abdication has been often misconstrued to mean that, while Vakhtang was made King of Iberia and George given Kakhetia, Demetrius was installed as King of Imeretia.⁹⁰ Of Demetrius we possess two diplomata only, one issued while he was co-king with his brother, on August 26, 1445 (Z 257) and the other, undated, by 'the King of Kings Demetrius' (*Sas. Sigel.* 10-11).

Georgia — the House of P'anaskerteli-C'ic'išvili ranked as fifth among the six 'undivided' princes of Iberia (*mt'avar-s*, cf above, n.8). The division of Sac'ic'iano between the two lines of the house, into Upper and Lower, entailed the loss of its dynastic status in the seventeenth century. Cf. Vaxtang VI, *Code* §35; Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 40/41, 46/47, 202/203; Heraclius II, *Short Description* v; *Akti* 2.39; Karst, *Comment.* I 228; Ivanenko, *Graždanskoe Upravlenie Zakavkaz'em* 9; Dolgorukov, *Ross. Rod. Kniga* II 45-6, 62-63. — The second surname, C'ic'išvili (and the name Sac'ic'iano), must have been derived from an earlier member of the house called C'ic'i, and not, as has been supposed, from the Queen's brother (Dolgorukov II 45 calls him her nephew), because this patronymic is found already under Alexander I (1412-1442): David C'ic'išvili figures among the witnesses of that King's undated charter (AG 2.28). — Upon the Russian annexation of Georgia, the House of P'anaskerteli-C'ic'išvili was received into the princely nobility of the Empire under the name of Cicianov; *Spiski* 91-3.

⁸⁵ *Dates* 381.

⁸⁶ His father's charters from 20 Sept. 1 Alex. I. 1413 (K 3.7-10; Z 220) to 1442 (Z 253), where Demetrius always follows Vaxtang; his own charter of Aug. 26, 1445, (Z 257); *Hist. Alex. I.* 890-1; cf. *Tables* 1.625; cf. J IV 16ff.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Tables* 1.625.

⁸⁸ Cf. below, chap. II.

⁸⁹ Vaxušt, *History* (HG II 1) 145; *Dates* 381.

⁹⁰ *Hist. Alex. I.* 890: 'And when [Alexander] set up [his] first son Vaxtang in Iberia and Imeretia, together with him he established his [=the latter's] younger brother Demetrius; and he set up in Kakhetia, in the year 1445, as King, Demetrius' younger brother George.' The word *mas't'an* ('together with him') precludes an interpretation to the effect that Demetrius was in Imeretia while Vaxtang was in Iberia, and justifies the comma after *imeret's* ('in Imeretia'). Brosset, nevertheless, translated this passage as follows: 'Lorsque le roi Alexandre installa son fils Wakhtang dans le Karthli, il plaça en même temps sur le trône d'Iméréth Dimitri, son second fils, et en 1445 . . . George, frère cadet de ce dernier en Cakheth'; HG I 2.682. Javaxišvili seems inclined to accept the passage in this sense; J IV 36. This interpretation was caused, no doubt, by the passage of the text which mentions the appanaging of Alexander's third son in Kakhetia, and by the inability of so

Upon the death of Vakhtang IV in 1446, Demetrius III became *de jure* King-regnant of Georgia, but, as is evidenced by the royal documents of the years 1447-1465, his younger brother George, co-King in Kakhetia, was — owing probably to Demetrius's weakness — the *de facto* King of Georgia, from 1446 to 1465.⁹¹ Demetrius III died in 1453 (or 1452).⁹² He was married, after 1446, to Queen Gulashar, of whose origin nothing is known to us and who is last mentioned in the documents in 1475.⁹³

GEORGE VIII. — Third son of King Alexander, the first by his second wife, George was born c. 1415/1417.⁹⁴ In 1433 his father co-opted him and gave him the Kingdom of Kakhetia in appanage.⁹⁵ Following the death of Vakhtang IV, George, and not the rightful Demetrius III, was King-regnant of Georgia, as is evident from his own diplomata, ranging from 1447 (Z 259-60) to 1463 (AG 2.12; 3.462), and his letters;⁹⁶ from the charter of the Duke of Aragvi of April 13, 1465 (K 2.15-8); from those of his successor Bagrat VI (*q.v.*), and from contemporary historians.⁹⁷ His reign began c. December 25, 1446, from which date his regnal years are computed in the royal documents.⁹⁸ His usurpation, however, set a precedent perilous to himself: the revolt of Bagrat VI (in Imeretia) and of the Western Dukes⁹⁹ came to a head in 1462; three years

many scholars to accept the fact of co-optation (cf. below, chap. II). This text must be regarded as having contributed to the tradition that Alexander I divided his realm among his sons (cf. *ibid.*). — Apart from the fact that the revolts of the Seljukids served to accentuate the nascent separatism of Western Georgia, the title of the Georgian sovereigns had been, since the eleventh century, 'of Abasgia (=Imeretia) and Iberia' (cf. below, chap. II, n.28). — For the date 1445, given in the above text for George's installation in Kakhetia, cf. note on George VIII and below, chap. II, n.46.

⁹¹ Cf. below, note on George VIII.

⁹² In 1453; *Hist. Alex. I.* 891; in 1452: Vaxušt, *Dates* 381. J IV 37 accepts the latter date. Demetrius was killed by a horse while hunting; *Dates* 381. The former date seems preferable because it brings the King's death closer to the date of Bagrat VI's revolt in Imeretia; cf. below, chap. II.

⁹³ Charters of their son, Constantin II, of 1466 and 1475 (AG 2.13 [for the date cf. J IV 92-3] and AG 2.31); *Hist. Alex. I.* 891. Brosset attempted to identify Queen Gulašar with a Queen Gulk'an, whose death is reported *sub anno* 1471 in the *Chron. géorg.* 3/4; HG I 2.684 n.5. He was not aware of the existence of the charter of 1475. Queen Gulk'an must be a different person, perhaps the consort of one of King Alexander's brothers (*qq.v.*).

⁹⁴ His father's charters from 29 Sept. 5 Alex. I. 1417 (Z 223-4) to 1442 (Z 253); his own charter of Mar. 7, 1446 (résumé, IV *Rapp.* 21); *Hist. Alex. I.* 890-1; cf. *Tables* 1.625; cf. J IV 16ff. 20, 40.

⁹⁵ Cf. below, chap. II.

⁹⁶ Cf. note on Bagrat VI, n.127.

⁹⁷ Phrantzes; cf. below, n.198.

⁹⁸ J. IV 41-2 (on the basis of nine charters, from 3 Geo. VIII. 1448 [K 3 29; Z 260] to 2 Sept. 17 Geo. VIII. [AG 2.12]).

⁹⁹ Cf. note on Bagrat VI. — The Western Dukes, who subsequently became sovereign princes, were those of Abkhazia (of the House of Šarvašije), Guria (of the House of Dadian-Gurieli), Meschia (of the House of Jaqeli), Mingrelia (of the House of Dadian), and Suania (of the House of Gelovani); cf. Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 132-3; Allen, *History* 135-7. It is difficult to agree with Javakhišvili that, at the end of the fifteenth

later the King was captured by Qvarqvare III, Duke of Meschia, and Bagrat wrested from him the Crown of Georgia.¹⁰⁰

George VIII, nevertheless, retained his old appanage of Kakhetia, as is evidenced by his royal diplomata of February 22 and March 22, 1468 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 22; and *Akt'i* 1.6 No. 4) — the last which are known of him — for Bagrat VI was then reigning elsewhere in Georgia.¹⁰¹ Kakhetia became from that moment an independent State; the first step towards the Partition of Georgia had been made.¹⁰² George VIII, or I of Kakhetia, died in 1476,¹⁰³ from which date the regnal years of his son, Alexander I of Kakhetia, are computed in his charters.¹⁰⁴

In 1445, King George married his first cousin Daria (*Nestan-Darejan*) of

century, Abkhazia and Guria formed parts of Mingrelia; J IV 110, 162. Guria was a fief of the secundogeniture of the Dadianis, separate from Mingrelia, as early as 1352 (D. Bak'raje, *Arxeologičeskoe Putešestvie po Gurii i Adčarë* [St. Petersburg 1872] 335; a Γουρέλη [also: Γουρήλη] paid his respects to the Emperor of Trebizond in 1372; Panaretus 44.228). After Mamia I Gurieli, younger son of Liparit I of Mingrelia (mentioned in George VIII's charter of 1463 [AG 3.462]), the Dukes and, then, Princes of Guria formed one continuous dynasty down to the Russian annexation of 1829. Mamia, by the way, was a son-in-law of the Emperor David of Trebizond; to him the Empress Helen Cantacuzena fled after the disaster of 1462 (Chalcocondyles, *De reb. turc.* 9.488). Furthermore, among the Christian princes of the East ready to take up arms in the proposed crusade of Pope Pius II, in 1459-1460, we find not only *Bendian* (*Bendias*) *rex Mingreliae* (*Mangreliae*) and *Gorgora dux Georgianæ*, but also *Rabia* (*Fabia*) *dux Anocasiae* (*Anogosiae*) and *Mania marchio Goriae* (Aeneas Sylvius, *Epist.* 849-50; Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum* 13 [Rome 1735] 153, 60; cf. note on Bagrat VI). *Bendian* is, of course, *Bediani* — a territorial epithet of the Dadianis, derived from the province of Bedia, occasionally used as a praenomen (cf. *Hist. Eul. Sov.* 411; *Hist. Mong. Inv.* 583, 605, 656; *VII Rapp.* [Brosset, *Rapports*, 1^{re} livraison 1849] 42-3, 44-5). In 1459 this term designated Liparit I (†1470), but when Barbaro and Contarini used it of the Prince of Mingrelia, they could refer only to his elder son and successor Šamandavle I (Iosafa Barbaro, *Viaggio alla Tana* 10 [ed. Ramusio, *Secondo Volume delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, Venice 1559, 96]; Ambrogio Contarini, *Viaggio* 2, 5 [*ibid.* 114, 115, 119]). *Anocasia* is a further corruption of *Auogasia*, used by Contarini for Abkhazia (this appears from the context; *op. cit.* 6.119. Cf. *Avegie*, *Anegie*, for Abkhazia: *Intinéraire français* ed. La société de l'Orient latin, 1882, index i.v.). *Gorgora dux Georgianæ* is Qvarqvare III (also styled 'the Second'), Duke of Meschia and Atabeg of Georgia (†1466). When Barbaro (*Viaggio nella Persia* 27, 28 [ed. Ramusio, 109, 110]) and Contarini (*op. cit.* 6.120) speak of Gorgora, they must refer to his successor Baadur I (1466-1475). Chalcocondyles (*op. cit.* 9.460) refers to the principedom of Meschia as ἡ τοῦ Γοργούρου αὐθεντία, and to the Dadiani fiefs, somewhat confusedly, as τοῦ ἐν παραθαλασσίᾳ καὶ τῆς Σεβαστοπόλεως [Dioscurias-Suxum] Μυγκελίων τοῦ Δαδιάνου αὐθεντία, καὶ Μαρία, καὶ Σαμανταῦλα, καὶ Γουρίας.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. J IV 77-101.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *ibid.* 97.

¹⁰² It is in this sense that one must interpret Vaxušt's statements regarding the return of George to Eastern Georgia, replacing Bagrat there in 1466, and the conclusion of peace between them in order to facilitate for the latter the subdual of Constantine, son of Demetrius (III); *History* (HG I 2) 687, (II 1) 250. Cf. J IV 94-7; Kakabaje, *Sas. Sigel.* 31.

¹⁰³ *Contin. II.* 894.

¹⁰⁴ The charters of Jan. 23 and 24, 1479 (Z 300-1; Z 301).

Georgia.¹⁰⁵ She appears in her husband's charters of August 27, 1458 (AG 2.11), January 30, 1460 (K 3.34-6; Z 277-8), June 12, 1460 (AG 1.2; Z 278-9), and 1463 (AG 3.462), in every case together with their 'first born' son Alexander (I of Kakhetia); as well as in the latter's diplomata of January 23 and 24, 1479 (Z 300-1; Z 301) and of 1503 (Z 319). But the charter 6 Aug. 7 Geo. VIII. 1453 (AG 2.10) mentions 'Our consort, the Lady Queen of Queens Thamar'. These data admit of two interpretations. Either we must assume that George VIII was twice married: first to Thamar and then to Daria,¹⁰⁶ which implies a rejection of the information given in the *Hist. Alex. I.*;¹⁰⁷ or we may surmise that both names were borne by one and the same person. Cases of several (usually two) distinct, not hyphenated, names were not infrequent in old Georgia, especially for women. This polyonymy usually reflected the twofold cultural background of the country, Hellenistic-Christian on the one hand, and Caucasio-Iranoid, on the other. In the case of King George's wife, the biblical 'Thamar' would represent the one, the epic 'Nestan-Daredjan', the other. Other instances of polyonymy can be found in the royal house.¹⁰⁸ This, as well as the lack of further evidence preclude our acceptance of the thesis that George was married twice and incline us to consider the two names as referring to the one consort of that sovereign.

In connection with the person of George VIII several errors have been committed by traditional historiography. First, Vakhusht, its founder, represented George as older than Demetrius his brother (*q.v.*). Then, out of the one historical person, George VIII, at first King of Georgia and then King of Kakhetia, the 'Georgian Gibbon' made two different personages: (1) George, King of Georgia (†1469, *sic*),¹⁰⁹ son of Alexander I, and (2) George I, King of Kakhetia (†1492).¹¹⁰ The latter was said by Vakhusht to be the son of one David, a duke in Kakhetia, supposedly called from Didoeti and elected King of Kakhetia in 1465 by the local nobility who were unwilling to submit to Bagrat VI (*q.v.*).¹¹¹ This David is, however, a fictitious figure: the whole story is a variation of the one found in the *Bride Chronicle*, dealing with Bagrat V's son of the same name (*q.v.*).¹¹² Then, showing himself at pains to explain the

¹⁰⁵ *Hist. Alex. I.* 890; cf. note on Thamar-Daria and Bagrat VI.

¹⁰⁶ So J IV 43-4.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. above, n.105.

¹⁰⁸ Thus, George's own son Alexander of Kakhetia (*q.v.*) married a princess of the House of Irubak'ije who was called both Anne and T'inat'in; David VIII of Georgia, son of Constantine II and great-nephew of George, married a princess of the House of Orbeliani who bore three names; Thamar, Nestan-Darejan, and Miraingul; *Tables* 1.626; cf. IV *Rapp.* 25. King Rostom, David VIII's great-grandson, married a princess of the House of Abašije who was named Catherine (K'et'evan) and Gulduxtari; *Tables*, *loc. cit.* This custom had, of course, nothing in common with assuming a new name upon becoming a religious.

¹⁰⁹ *Dates* 382.

¹¹⁰ *History* (HG II 1) 148.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 144-8, 11.

¹¹² Cf. above, nn.33 and (for the source) 3. It is rather interesting to note Javakhišvili's unwilling admission of Vaxušt's error; J IV 93-7.

origin of his David, Vakhusht hesitatingly propounded the opinion, without sharing with us his reasons, that David was a son of Demetrius, son of Alexander I (i.e., Demetrius III). He added, however, that, should anyone wish to know more and demand other (!) proofs, he might well 'tax his own ingenuity'.¹¹³ Thus, great doubt was raised regarding the Bagratid origin of the Kings of Kakhetia.¹¹⁴ At present, this notion has been rejected by modern Georgian historians.¹¹⁵

DAVID III. — Fourth son of Alexander I, born before 1417.¹¹⁶ Already in the charter 10 Sept. 8 Alex. 1. 1420 (K 3.10-12; Z 226), when he was only three years old, David is spoken of as a monk, and in that of 6 Jan. 12 Alex. I. 1424 (Z 228), less than four years later, he is mentioned as a monk and as destined for the Katholikate of Iberia. In view of his tender age, these references to his monastic status can signify only that he was destined for the Church.¹¹⁷ King Alexander's charters of 1426 (Z 229), January 21, 1428 (Z 231), 1435 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 16), 1438 (K 3.18-20), and 1439 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 16) speak of David as already Katholikos of Iberia; whereas those of 1427 (Z 230), 1428 (K 3.13), 1429 (K 3.13-4; Z 235-236), 1431 (Z 237-8), 1433 [III] (K 2.4-6), and 1434 (Z 242) mention the Katholikos Theodore, and those of 1440 (Z 247-8), 1441 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 16-7), and George VIII's act of March 7, 1446 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 21) refer to the Katholikos Shio. Then, in the diplomata of the last-named sovereign of December 25, 1447 (Z 259-60), 1448 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 21), December 25, 1449 (K 3.29-32; Z 261), and May 3, 1457 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 21), David reappears as Katholikos.

In the years 1426-1439, when he was aged from about ten to twenty-three, David, it appears, could hardly have been spoken of as Katholikos otherwise than by anticipation. One might assume that the other Katholikoi, Theodore and Shio, mentioned in the years 1427-1434 and 1440-1446, were his predecessors in the primacy of Georgia and that David himself came to it only c. 1447. Yet the existence of at least three acts of Alexander I — his charters of January 21, 1428, 1435, and 1439 — invalidates this assumption. These instruments, whereby that sovereign granted to the Katholikos David lands and serfs, prove

¹¹³ Cf. n.111.

¹¹⁴ Vaxušt, the discontented illegitimate scion of the eldest, Iberian line of the Bagratid dynasty (descended from Constantine II, *q.v.*) — which claimed the whole of once-united Georgia, but was deprived in the mid-eighteenth century of even its Iberian share by the Kings of Kakhetia (descended from Alexander I of Kakhetia, *q.v.*) — must not have been loath to cast doubts on the Bagratid origin of the more successful, and rival, Kakhetian and Imeretian lines of the dynasty (cf. also note on Bagrat VI).

¹¹⁵ J IV 94-7, 139; S. Kakabaje, *Sas. Sigel.* 31; *idem*, *Sak'art'velos Mokle Istoria: Azali Saukuneebis Epok'a* (Tiflis 1920) 4; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 129-30; but cf. Allen, *History* 140.

¹¹⁶ His father's charters from 29 Sept. 5 Alex. I. 1417 (Z 223-4), where he follows George (VIII), to 1439 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 16); *Hist. Alex. I.* 891; cf. *Tables* 1.625; cf. J IV 17-8.

¹¹⁷ It will be recalled that in the Churches of the Byzantine Rite, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, the episcopate is recruited from the regular clergy.

that the latter actually was Primate of Georgia. It must be concluded, accordingly, that David was indeed appointed by his father to that office at the age of about ten; and it may be conjectured that Theodore and Shio were, in 1427-1446, merely his *locum tenentes* with the title of Katholikos.¹¹⁸

ZAAL. — Fifth son, sixth and last child of Alexander I. He must have been born sometime before 1428 and died after 1442 — the first and last years in which his name appears in the available sources.¹¹⁹ In 1433, Zaal was elevated by his father to the co-kingship.¹²⁰

THAMAR-DARIA (*T'amar-Nestan-Darejan*). — Daughter of Bagrat, son of King Constantine I.¹²¹ She married in 1445 her cousin George, co-King of Kakhetia and subsequently King (George VIII) of Georgia and then (George I) of Kakhetia.¹²² She is last mentioned in 1510.¹²³

BAGRAT VI. — The origin of Bagrat VI and of the Royal House of Imeretia, descended from him, has been left unascertained by modern Georgian historiography.¹²⁴ Bagrat VI began to reign in Georgia in 1465, as is indicated by the regnal years of his charters of November 6, 1468 (AG 2.30), 1472 (con-

¹¹⁸ *Hist. Alex. I.* 888-91 records the Katholikoi Theodore and Šio and, upon the latter's death, c. 1447, the Katholikat of David, son of Alexander I. Whatever David's official position, it is obvious that in view of his age, the situation as presented by this source is substantially exact. It is interesting to note the introduction into the Georgian Church of what amounted to an imitation of collegial sovereignty. The attempt to explain away the collegial Katholikat of David, Theodore and Šio by suggesting that, while David was of Iberia, the others were of Abasgia (J IV 18 n.1) is inadequate. Alexander I's charters of 1431, 1433 [III], 1434, 1440, and 1441, dealing with the last-named prelates, definitely indicate that they belonged to Eastern Georgia, i.e., Iberia. The katholikal list of Abasgia is far from complete, especially prior to the end of the fifteenth century; M. Tamarati, *L'Eglise géorgienne des origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Rome 1910) 409. — Some historians have fancied three different persons in our one David, according to the three chronological groups of documents, i.e., David II or III (1426-1428), David III or IV (1435-1439), and David IV or V (1447-1457), Alexander I's son; Tamarati, *op. cit.* 409; A. Natroev, *Mcxet i Ego Sobor Sveti-Czoveli* (Tiflis 1900) 343-55; Janin, DThC s.v. 'Géorgie' 1271. (The difference in the numerals after the above katholikal names is due to the fact that some historians, like Tamarati 408, omit the Katholikos David of 859-861 while others count him; thus Natroev 454.) An acceptance of this division, on the ground that only the last group of documents could refer to the King's son (born c. 1417), is precluded by the very first document of the first group, the charter of 1426, wherein King Alexander mentions among his children 'Our son, the Katholikos of Iberia, David'. Thus there was but one Katholikos, David III, in the years 1426-1457.

¹¹⁹ His father's charters from 21 Jan. 16 Alex. I. 1428 (Z 231) to 1442 (Z 253); cf. J IV 18. The last-mentioned charter is a seventeenth-century copy; before this, Zaal is mentioned in that of 1433 [I] (K 3.15-16; Z 239-40); cf. *ibid.* n.2.

¹²⁰ Cf. below, chap. II.

¹²¹ Cf. note on Bagrat VI.

¹²² *Hist. Alex. I.* 890; cf. notes on Bagrat VI and George VIII.

¹²³ *Contin. II.* 950.

¹²⁴ Cf. J IV 80-4; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 129. Others repeat the version of Vaxušt, more of which below.

firmation of the charter 12 June 14 Geo. VIII. 1460: AG 1.2; Z 278-9), and 1475 (AG 2.31). His reign is attested by a number of monuments, such as his own charters, that of Shalva II, Duke of Ksani, of 1470 (AG 3.578), the *Zedginidze Petition* (AG 4), the reports of the Venetian ambassadors Barbaro and Contarini,¹²⁵ and various other Georgian and Western sources. The date of his death, 1478, given in *Contin. II*,¹²⁶ is confirmed by the diplomata of his successor Constantine II (*q.v.*), wherein the latter's regnal years are computed from that date.

However, before his accession as King of Georgia in 1465, Bagrat must have arisen as an anti-king. His charter of 1466 (Z 287-8), issued in the first year of his reign, computes his regnal years from 1454. There is, indeed, a diploma issued by him, as a king, in 1457 (*Sas. Sigel.* 16-9). Writing in November 1459 to Philip the Good of Burgundy, in connection with the proposed crusade against the Ottoman Turks, both George VIII of Georgia and Qvarqvare III of Meschia refrained from mentioning Bagrat among the Christian princes of the East ready to take up arms.¹²⁷ But the Georgian Ambassadors, who bore the letters of George and Qvarqvare, announced to Pope Pius II that among the allies was also *Pancratius Iberorum*.¹²⁸ It appears that, through the efforts of the Papal Nuncio, Lewis of Bologna, a truce had been reached between the conflicting Georgian princes.¹²⁹ Yet the crusade, so ardently desired by the Pope, came to naught, owing to the refusal of the King of France and the

¹²⁵ Barbaro, *Viaggio alla Tana* 14.98; *Viaggio nella Persia* 27.109, 28.110; Contarini, 2.115, 5.119, 6.120.

¹²⁶ *Contin. II.* 895.

¹²⁷ Aeneas Sylvius, *Epist.* 850-1; George VIII's letter is dated Nov. 5. Nor is Bagrat mentioned in the similar letter of David, Emperor of Trebizond to the Duke of Burgundy, of Apr. 22, 1459; *ibid.* 849. — For the other Georgian princes about to join the crusade, cf. above, n.99.

¹²⁸ *Pancratius [rex] Iberorum, qui nunc Georgiani vocantur*; (speech of the Ambassadors of the Eastern allies) *Annales Minorum* 13.153 (*Pancratius*, Παγκράτειος, Παγκράτιος are the traditional Graeco-Latin renderings of *Bag[al]rat*; cf. Justi, *Iran*, *Namenbuch* 57). The rebellious Bagrat, as is clear from his charters, used the royal style of the Kings of Georgia — a style which expressed, in its central formula, the perennial dichotomy of the realm composed of Western and Eastern Georgia: 'King of Abasgia and Iberia' = *ap'xazt'a da k'art'velt'a mep'e* (*Abasgorum et Iberorum rex*); cf. below, chap. II n.28. It is curious that Bagrat, who revolted in Abasgia (Imeretia) should in the West have been called *rex Iberorum* or *Georgianiae* (cf. following note), whereas George VIII, who was reduced by that revolt to Eastern Georgia alone, should have been referred to as *rex Persarum*, which, in Javaxisvili's opinion, is a mutilation of *rex Abasgorum*: J IV 67-9. Wadding describes George as *rex Persarum, et maioris Armeniae, et minoris Iberiae, cui pater fuit Alexander*; *Annales Minorum* 13.153. It is interesting that, whereas the letters mentioned only George and omitted Bagrat, the Ambassadors referred only to Bagrat and left out George. The claims of the two were mutually exclusive.

¹²⁹ This is clear from the speech of the Ambassadors from the Eastern Princes before the Pontiff, in 1460; *Annales Minorum* 13.153. Indeed, in his rescript to Lewis of Bologna, of Oct. 4, 1458, Pius II mentions both Bagrat (*rex Georgianiae*) and George (*rex Persarum*); *ibid.* 60. This is the only time the two rivals are mentioned together.

Duke of Burgundy to take part in it; and the internal conflict in Georgia must have flared up anew.¹³⁰

Our sources concerning the story of Bagrat VI's advent are so scanty and the information of the later chronicles is so misleading that a framework must first be established which should be based exclusively on primary material and which may only later be filled in with whatever is acceptable in the secondary works. This framework is as follows.¹³¹ About 1463, King George VIII wrested Kutais, the capital of Imeretia, from Bagrat,¹³² into whose hands it must have fallen c. 1454, from which date the latter computed one set of his regnal years. Thereupon Bagrat waged war on the King. George VIII was defeated and fled¹³³ — from Imeretia presumably. Next, King George waged a punitive expedition against Qvarqvare III of Meschia,¹³⁴ but was, in the end, taken prisoner by him.¹³⁵ Bagrat, then, moved into Eastern Georgia and became a legitimate King of Georgia; he was recognized by the aged Prince David, Bagrat V's son (*q.v.*)¹³⁶ and by Constantine (II, *q.v.*), son of Demetrius III and nephew of George VIII, who became a co-king with Bagrat VI.

The data of the historiographic sources substantially agree with, and further amplify those of the above framework, while deviating from them on certain points. The *Hist. Alex. I.* mentions briefly the struggle of George and Bagrat over the throne of Georgia, which began after 1453 (i.e., 1454) and in which the former, at first victorious, was vanquished by the latter, who then became King of Georgia.¹³⁷ *Contin. II* puts Bagrat's accession at 1454.¹³⁸ Vakhusht relates that Bagrat revolted in Imeretia against George, at the instigation of Qvarqvare III of Meschia and with the support of the other Western Dukes;¹³⁹ that he defeated the King at Chikhori in 1462, was crowned at Kutais, and recognized the Western Dukes' independence of the Crown; that George was captured by Qvarqvare in the battle by the lake Panavari, in 1465, while on a punitive expedition against him; and that thereupon Bagrat became King of Georgia.¹⁴⁰ The battle of Chikhori and the subsequent captivity of King George VIII are recorded by various paschal annals (*kinklos-*

¹³⁰ Tamarati, *L'Eglise géorgienne* 458-9.

¹³¹ Cf. J IV 77-9.

¹³² *Zedg. Petition* (cf. above, n.32) 22; cf. J IV 89. George VIII's charter of 1463 (AG 3.462) was granted at Kutais.

¹³³ *Zedg. Petition* 22-3; cf. J IV 89.

¹³⁴ Fragment of an undated fifteenth-century MS, ed. Z 301; cf. J IV 89-90.

¹³⁵ *Zedg. Petition* 24; the charter of co-King Constantine II of 1466 (AG 2.13; for the date, cf. J IV 92-3) confirms the story of his uncle's capture; cf. J IV 91-3.

¹³⁶ *Zedg. Petition* 24; cf. J IV 91-2, 93; above, note on David, son of Bagrat V. In confirming, in 1472, a diploma of George VIII of 1460, Bagrat states that he 'took possession' (*davipqarit'*) of the 'Royalty of the Two Thrones' (on the royal style, cf. above n.128; below, chap. II n.28).

¹³⁷ *Hist. Alex. I.* 891-2.

¹³⁸ *Contin. II.* 892.

¹³⁹ For the Western Dukes, cf. above, n.99.

¹⁴⁰ *History* (HG I 2) 685-7, (II 1) 249-51.

es).¹⁴¹ The reign of Bagrat VI is described by Vakhushst,¹⁴² at the end of the *Hist. Alex. I.*, and at the beginning of the *Contin. II.*¹⁴³ It is the last three works that contain information wholly divergent from the actual truth, especially as regards the provenance of Bagrat VI.

Regarding his own origin, Bagrat himself supplies us with first-hand evidence. In his charters of 1457 and 1466, he refers to the 'Prince Our father George.'¹⁴⁴ In his diplomata (e.g., those of 1466, 1475) he applies to himself the full royal style of the Bagratids, including the dynastic denomination of Jes-sian-Davidian-Solomonian-Bagratid,¹⁴⁵ and (in the latter document) mentions 'Queen Tamar and others of Our House,' thus unequivocally indicating his Bagratid origin. It is extremely difficult to consider these assertions as expressive of a legal fiction, adopted for political reasons by a usurping outsider.¹⁴⁶ Had this been the case, the sources would most certainly have registered the fact of usurpation and recorded in a specific way the alien origin of one who had infringed upon the lawful dynasty's hereditary right.¹⁴⁷ Quite to the contrary, Bagrat VI, like George VIII (although from a strictly legal point of view both usurped the crown, one from Demetrius III, the other from the latter's son Constantine II), is never considered a usurper in either the primary or the secondary sources at our disposal (except Vakhushst, of whom later). All of them (except Vakhushst) concur in averring his Bagratid origin. It is obvious, then, that it was that origin that made his rule, once established, as uncontested as that of George VIII.

The only George in the royal stemma who can have been Bagrat's father is the son of Constantine I and brother of Alexander I. The Venetian Ambassador, Ambrogio Contarini, who saw Bagrat VI in 1475, says that he was then about forty years of age.¹⁴⁸ Consequently, he must have been born c. 1435. George, the younger brother of Alexander, who was born in 1390 and whose youngest son Zaal was born c. 1428, could very well have been the father of Bagrat VI. The fact that George, who had been raised to the co-kingship by his

¹⁴¹ *The Annals of the Book of Hours No. 2; The Č'xeije Chronicle of the Hymnal No. 6* (ed. Z) 281; both record only the battle of Č'ixori; *The Chronicle of the Ikort'a Horologion* (ed. Kakabaje, *K'ronika Ikort'is No. 6 Žamn-Gulanisa*, Tiflis 1911) 4; as well as *Chron. géorg.* 2-3/4. In the last-named source, the phrase relating to the capture: *mep'e daičira quarqwarem tqu<e>t'* is incorrectly rendered by Brosset as *le roi fit prisonnier Quarqwaré*. Quarqware is the agent, as is indicated by the dative-pronominal case ending *-m(an)*.

¹⁴² *History*, loc. cit.

¹⁴³ *Hist. Alex. I.* 891; *Contin. II.* 892-3.

¹⁴⁴ The charter of 1466 (Z 287-8) founds an *agape* for the repose of the soul *patronisa mamisa č'uenisa giorgisa*.

¹⁴⁵ For the Bagratid claims of Davidic origin, of which the above *nomina gentilia* were an expression, cf. MGH 154-6; below, chap. II n.28; *The Early Bagratids* 22-3.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. J IV 83-4, where the question is left undecided.

¹⁴⁷ For the dynastic legitimism of the Georgians, cf. Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 10/11; Vaxtang VI, *Code* §152; Karst, *Comment.* I 201, II (Strasbourg 1937) 250.

¹⁴⁸ Contarini, 5.119. Cf. J IV 105.

father, is spoken of but as 'Prince'¹⁴⁹ cannot impair our assumption. Co-kings were often mentioned without the royal title¹⁵⁰ and, what is more, George himself never figures with it in the diplomata of his brother Alexander I.¹⁵¹ George, the father of Bagrat VI, must have died between 1435, when the latter was born, and 1466, when an *agape* was founded for the repose of his soul.

The erroneous notions of the secondary sources concerning Bagrat's filiation themselves lend support to the above conclusion. At the end of the *Hist. Alex. I.* and at the beginning of *Contin. II* Bagrat VI is declared to be a brother of Alexander I; and both of them are said to be sons of a George. Accordingly, Bagrat is described as 'King Alexander's brother, Bagrat', 'the brother of King Alexander and son of King George Bagrat', and 'the son of George, Bagrat, brother of King Alexander'.¹⁵² To be sure, Bagrat, son of George, cannot have been a brother of Alexander, son of Constantine. There is an obvious confusion here between two historical personages: King Alexander's younger brother Bagrat, on the one hand; and, on the other, his nephew Bagrat VI, the son of his youngest brother, George. The above descriptions of Bagrat VI are nothing else but erroneous variations of a correct archetypal phrase, which must have read somewhat as follows: 'Bagrat, son of George, brother of Alexander'.¹⁵³ This imbroglío of the eighteenth-century historiographical works accounts, also, for the origin of the tradition that Alexander I was the son of a George.¹⁵⁴

It may be well further to analyze the confused data of these works regarding the two Bagrats — Alexander's brother and nephew — and to endeavour to disentangle therefrom some vestiges of truth.

(I) A comparison of the two Continuations of *The Georgian Annals* (which form one work: the product of one redaction) with the *Chron. géorg.*¹⁵⁵ reveals a number of passages which are practically identical in the two works, being based, obviously, on the same source, *except* that *Contin. I* adds to the names

¹⁴⁹ Javakšvili makes much of it; J IV 80-4; cf. below, chap. II. — 'Prince' is used here for rendering *patron*, an honorific epithet of a very restricted kind, applied to sovereigns, members of their families, and to the highest personages in the feudal-administrative and ecclesiastical hierarchies. The word corresponded to 'Prince' in its inchoate state — an epithet rather than a fixed title as it has been preserved, e.g., in the ceremonial nomenclature of Great Britain, where it is used ('Puissant Prince' etc.) of the sovereign, his family, as well as the three upper degrees of the peerage. It also corresponded to the medieval *patronus*, from which it was derived, in its feudal sense of suzerain; in this sense it had a wider application.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. below, chap. II.

¹⁵¹ Cf. note on George and Bagrat and n.72 (charters from 1414 to 1424).

¹⁵² *Hist. Alex. I.* 891: (lines 23-4) *mep'is alek'sandres jma bagrat*, (line 27) *jma alek'sandre mep'isa*, *da je mep'is giorgisa bagrat*; *Contin. II* 892: *je giorgisa bagrat, jma mep'isa alek'sandresi*. King Alexander is called son of 'King George' also in the *Bridge Chr.* 887 (cf. above, n.33).

¹⁵³ *Bagrat, je giorgisa alek'sandre mep'isa jmisa*.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. note on Alexander; above, nn.152, 33.

¹⁵⁵ For these eighteenth-century compilations, cf. MGHL 159-61, 179, n.13; cf. above, nn.3, 4; below, n.202.

the epithet 'of Imeretia' (*imeret'isa*), and *Contin. II* explains the unspecified mention of some fourteenth and fifteenth-century Kings of Georgia in the *Chron. géorg.* by the words 'Bagrat of Imeretia' (*bagrat imeret'isa*):

Chron. géorg.

- 1/1. 1392: The Mingrelians killed King George.
 1395: The Great King Bagrat passed away.
 1402: King Constantine was killed at Chalaghni.

Contin. I 3: Bridge Chr. 887

And the Mingrelians killed King George of Imeretia. In the same year the great King Bagrat of Imeretia died. And Constantine, son of Bagrat, ascended as king, and he reigned for seven years, and was killed at Chalagha.

Contin. II 893

- 2/4. 1462: Uzun-Hasan-Khan came to Meschia, aided Qvarqvare; they encountered the King at Chikhori, and the Atabeg won.
 1465: Qvarqvare took the King captive.

1462: Uzun-Hasan-Khan came to Meschia, aided Qvarqvare; they encountered King Bagrat of Imeretia at Chikhori, and the Atabeg Qvarqvare won . . .
 1455: Qvarqvare took captive King Bagrat of Imeretia, and shut him in a fortress.

Now, we know that it was Bagrat V the Great of Georgia (*q.v.*) who died in 1395, and shall presently discover that it is to Constantine I, his son, that the *Chron. géorg.* refers; furthermore, the contemporary documents (cited earlier) prove that it was George VIII of Georgia who was defeated at Chikhori by Bagrat VI and was later captured by the latter's ally, Qvarqvare III. The above insertions in *Contin. I* and *II*, suggestive of the Imeretian Seljukids,¹⁵⁶ are therefore utterly worthless. The chronicles, clearly, refer to Bagrat V, Constantine I, and George VIII of Georgia.

(II) The *Hist. Alex. I: Contin. I 4* contains the following passages, immediately after the story of the abdication of Alexander I.¹⁵⁷

890. And George married Daria, daughter of the Imeretian King. Then, when Alexander took Imeretia, he expelled the son of Constantine, the King of Imeretia, Bagrat.
 891. When King Alexander died, then there came to Imeretia King Bagrat, son of the Imeretian King Constantine. He expelled Vakhtang [IV], son of King Alexander and took Imeretia.

The 'Imeretian King Constantine' of the above texts is identical with the Constantine, son of 'the great King Bagrat of Imeretia,' mentioned a few pages earlier, in the *Bridge Chron.*, that is, with the historical Constantine I of Georgia. The error of the *Chron. géorg.* as regards the date of his death (1402) is easily explained. Through a curious lapse, the chronicler recorded the reign of Constantine I immediately after that of Bagrat V, omitting George VII (1395-1405). He must, however, have been cognizant of the length of Constantine's reign, and computed it from the death of Bagrat (1395+7=

¹⁵⁶ For the Seljukid house of Imeretia, cf. note on Alexander I.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. note on Demetrius III and n.90.

1402).¹⁵⁸ This being so, the Bagrat, son of Constantine, referred to in our texts, can be no other than Alexander I's brother. Consequently, George VIII's consort, this Bagrat's daughter, according to the same source, was her husband's first cousin. Indeed, *Contin. II* speaks of her as a Bagratid.¹⁵⁹

Whether Bagrat, brother of Alexander, ever actually revolted in Imeretia against Vakhtang IV, as is recorded in the *Hist. Alex. I.*, is impossible to ascertain for the lack of further evidence. It may seem strange that he is not mentioned, in that work, as Alexander's brother, and that, instead, Bagrat VI is represented as such. This compilation contains many disguised shreds of history put together in the eighteenth century by a group of savants who had very confused notions of the fifteenth.¹⁶⁰ It has just been seen how the notion that Alexander I was the son of King George (VII) came into being; in the light of it, Bagrat the son of Constantine, could not be Alexander's brother, but Bagrat VI the son of George, could.

The version of Vakhushht of Bagrat VI's provenance has been adopted by Brosset and has survived to this day in Georgian historiography¹⁶¹ despite its rejection by some scholars.¹⁶² It is utterly fantastic and is the result of his combining the following three historical circumstances, which he had half-forgotten or imperfectly understood. First, in his charter of November 6, 1468 (AG 2.30), issued jointly with Demetrius III's son Constantine II (*q.v.*), whom he co-opted in order to legitimize his own position,¹⁶³ Bagrat qualifies his more lawful colleague as 'Our brother.' That this is a mere expression of courtesy is borne out not only by Bagrat's own indications of his parentage, but also by the wording of another such joint diploma of the two co-sovereigns, of 1475 (AG 2.31).¹⁶⁴ Second, it is a fact that Bagrat VI, son of George, was a nephew of Alexander I. Third, it was in Imeretia that Bagrat revolted against George VIII.

Of these facts Vakhushht appears to have been cognizant, in one way or another, and he must have combined them to evolve his filiation of Bagrat VI.

¹⁵⁸ The 'King George' of the *Chron. géorg.* ('of Imeretia' in the *Bridge Chr.*), who was killed in 1392, may disguise George VII; or this may constitute the only reference, outside Vaxušt, to the Imeretian duke of that name (cf. note on Alexander I: Stemma of the Seljukids). Č'alag̃ni, unidentifiable in Georgian historical geography (Cf. Brosset, *Chron. géorg.* 130), may very well have been the place north of the Araxes where Constantine I perished (*q.v.*).

¹⁵⁹ *Contin. II.* 905: she is mentioned as the mother of Alexander I of Kakhetia (*qv.*); cf. note on George VIII.

¹⁶⁰ On the Commission of King Vaxtang VI for the redaction of the Annals, cf. MGHL 163-6, 179-81.

¹⁶¹ Cf. *Tables* 4; Allen, *History* 135.

¹⁶² J IV 78-105. But the author reaches no conclusion of his own.

¹⁶³ Cf. below, chap. II.

¹⁶⁴ In this document, the name of Constantine's parents, Demetrius III and Gulašar, are placed in such a way as to leave no doubt that they are not Bagrat's parents: '... son of the King of Kings Demetrius ... Constantine, and Our mother of mothers, the Lady Gulašar [bestow] this firm, irrevocable, and indisputable [instrument] ... and We ... King of Kings Bagrat etc.'

The charter of 1468, issued by Bagrat and his 'brother' Constantine, must have given rise to a vague notion that Bagrat's father, like Constantine's, was named Demetrius.¹⁶⁵ At the same time, though it was forgotten by Vakhusht that Constantine II had been Demetrius III's son, it must still have been remembered by him that Bagrat VI had been a nephew of Alexander I and that he revolted in Imeretia. He may, moreover, have drawn upon sources which contained, like the two *Continuations of the Annals*, the epithet 'of Imeretia', so liberally if erroneously bestowed on the Georgian ancestors of Bagrat VI. So the logical outcome of the interplay of these half-remembered notions could be but what Vakhusht¹⁶⁶ has written on the subject, namely, that Bagrat was a son of Demetrius, the Seljukid Duke of Imeretia, whose sister was King Alexander I's queen, by which connection he became that King's nephew. Vakhusht represented him as being, also, a Duke of Imeretia, with George VIII's sanction; as revolting against his suzerain and as taking possession, in 1466, of Eastern Georgia; which he then lost to George, who had returned from his captivity, and which he regained in 1471 and kept until 1477. As a consequence of this version, a Seljukid origin, Bagratid only in the female line, was ascribed to Bagrat VI and his descendants, the House of Imeretia, so as to make it the direct continuation of the extinct ducal house of Imeretia. Moreover, Bagrat, as the usurping outsider which this tradition has made him, has not been considered as a King of Georgia, the sixth of his name, but as Bagrat II of Imeretia who but temporarily seized the Georgian throne.¹⁶⁷

The true filiation of Bagrat VI, accepted in this study, is confirmed by the light it sheds upon the genealogical and textual imbroglios in the historical writings of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Even in his own day, Bagrat's act of courtesy towards his co-king caused some confusion for the literal-minded. The copyist of George VIII's charter of 1460, which Bagrat VI confirmed in 1472 (AG 1.2; Z 278-9), referred to the former as the latter's 'uncle'.

¹⁶⁶ *History* (HG 1 1) 685-7, (II 1) 249-51.

¹⁶⁷ Bagrat was called 'the Second' as a successor to the Seljukid Imeretian duke, Bagrat I; cf. note on Alexander I.—Whether Bagrat VI had been Duke of Imeretia before his revolt, as is asserted by Vaxušt, *op. cit.* 685, 249, or whether that assertion be merely a consequence of his imputed Seljukid origin, is beyond proof.—The genealogical arrangement proposed by S. Kakabaje, in *Genealogia Bagrat IV Ap'x. da K'art'. Mep'isa* (Tiflis 1912) is nothing but a rearrangement of the Seljukid stemma as found in Vaxušt: Bagrat I the Little is made identical with King Alexander's brother of the same name; and Bagrat VI, son of the latter's son named George; cf. J IV 81-2.—A criticism of the sources on the basis of a scale of values, so as to give precedence to the primary sources over the secondary ones, would have spared Kakabaje his speculations; and realization of the fact that the two *Continuations* depend on one of the sources of the *Chron. géorg.*, and contain unwarranted insertions, would have prevented Javaxišvili from the attempt to reconcile the divergencies of the chronicles regarding the battle of Č'ixori and the capture of George VIII; cf. J IV 85-6, 91-2.

¹⁶⁸ The Georgian Monastery on Mount Calvary was ransomed from the Muslims at a high price by King Bagrat, son of a brother of Alexander; it was later restored by Leo I, King of Kakhetia, in 1535, according to Timothy Gabašvili who visited the Holy Land in the eighteenth century; Brosset, *Additions* 201.

Bagrat VI's consort was called Helen, as is revealed by his charter of 1475 and by an undated charter, confirmed by his son, Alexander II of Imeretia (*q.v.*) (AG 2.358). She died on November 3, 1510.¹⁶⁹

GULKAN (*Gulk'an*). — Sister of Bagrat VI, whose existence is known by a number of monuments:

(I) The charter of 1508 (Z 326; K 2.25-6), by which the nun Gaiane, King Bagrat's sister, makes a grant to the Abbey of Shio-Mghvine at Kaspi, in Inner Iberia. — (II) The inscriptions on two icons from the Sokhastiri Convent, dependent on the great Abbey of Gelati, in Imeretia, mentioning the Grand Treasurer, Sargis Mkhetzidze and his consort, Helen, daughter of the sister of the King of Kings Bagrat and of the Prince-Master of the Horse, Amirindo [I] Zedginidze.¹⁷⁰ Sargis Mkhetzidze died on July 11, 1531.¹⁷¹ — (III) The inscription on a silver cross in the church of Chala, mentioning Amirindo Zedginidze, Prince-Master of the Horse and Palatine of Gori, and his consort, the Princess Gulkan.¹⁷² Now, both Chala and Kaspi are Zedginidze fiefs; and, it will be remembered, it is customary in the Christian East to assume a monastic name beginning with the same letter as the one previously borne in the world: thus the identity of the nun Gaiane and the Princess Gulkan is established. As Bagrat VI was named in honor of his uncle and

¹⁶⁹ *Contin. II.* 905; but *Chron. géorg.* 4/5 records her death in 1507; for this error, cf. note on Alexander II of Imeretia. Brosset, citing the latter sources, gives Nov. 30, 1519! *Tables* 4.642.

¹⁷⁰ Brosset, *XI Rapp.* (3^e livraison) 45 *c* and *d*; N. Kondakov and D. Bak'raje, *Opis' Pamātnikov Drevnosti v Někotorix Xramax i Monastirax Gruzii* (St. Petersburg 1890) 34. — For Amirindo I, cf. P. Korbelašvili, 'Amilaxvart'a Sagvareulos Istoriuli Gujrebi,' *L'Ancienne Géorgie* 2 (1911-13) 2.109; he is mentioned also in a document of 1453 (Z 267).

¹⁷¹ *Chron. géorg.* 7/6 (Brosset incorrectly translated *muc'vala mxe'ije sargis* as *mourut Mkhkhétzi, fils de Sargis*); *Contin. II.* 914. He also figures in a document of 1488 (*Sas. Sigel.* 25). The House of Mxe'ije, later Mxeije (P'xeije), of ancient Abkhazian dynastic origin, has survived to the end of the Georgian kingdoms and the Russian Empire; Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 46/47; *Spiski* 63.

¹⁷² Brosset, *VI Rapp.* (3^e livraison) 117; Xaxanov, *Ėkspedicii na Kavkaz* 46-7; A. Mik'elaje, 'Sel. Kvemo-Čala, Goriysk. Uēzda, Tiflissk. Gubernii,' *Sbornik Materialov* 29 (1901) 39-41. This inscription must belong to Amirindo I and not to Amirindo II who was Prince-Master of the House and Constable of Upper Iberia in the years 1754-1774 (AG 3.219; cf. Mik'elaje 39). In the first place, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the name of the hereditary office-fief of Prince-Master of the Horse (*Amilaxor*, *Amilaxvar*) had become the surname of the heads of the House of Zedginije (as, e.g., in contemporary Spain, the Dukes of Medina de Rioseco were called by their hereditary office of *Almirante de Castilla*); so that they would be called 'the Amilaxvar Amirindo' or 'Amirindo the Amilaxvari', without the surname of Zedginije. The inclusion of the latter in the inscription marks it as considerably anterior to Amirindo II. Likewise, in the available sources of the time of Amirindo II one never finds the conjunction of the office of *Amilaxvar* with that of Palatine of Gori: the former office appears in them either alone or in conjunction with that of Constable (of the Right). Finally, the family tradition of the Amilaxvaris has it that a son of Joatham I (and Amirindo I was his son) married a princess royal (cf. below, n.174); the above Mxe'ije inscriptions confirm this.

his great-grandfather Bagrat V, so also his sister was apparently called Gulkan, after Bagrat V's sister who became Empress of Trebizond.¹⁷³ The family tradition of the Zedginidzes represents the Princess Royal who entered their house as a daughter of George VIII:¹⁷⁴ an understandable confusion of her insignificant father with his renowned nephew and namesake who had preceded Bagrat VI on the throne, and an additional corroboration of the filiation of the latter and his sister as accepted in this study.

The House of Zedginidze, which subsequently assumed the name of its principal office-fief, of Amilakhvari, is traceable to the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁵ It rose to an especial prominence with Joatham I (the father of Amirindo I), who at the risk of his life saved George VIII from the plot formed against him in 1465.¹⁷⁶ In consequence of this act of loyalty, the House of Zedginidze was enfeoffed of the offices of Prince-Master of the Horse of Georgia (*Amilaxvar*), Constable of the Right, and Palatine of Gori, as well as of numerous fiefs, including the sepulchral abbey and cathedral of Samtavisi, which

¹⁷³ Cf. above, note on Bagrat V and n.9. — This probably made Korbelašvili (*Amilaxvart'a Sagv. Ist Gujrebi, loc. cit.*) recognize the existence of Gulk'an, Bagrat VI's sister; however, he represents her as the wife of another Zedginije; whereas he gives for the wife of Amirindo I the name of Helen, for no other reason apparently than that *her* daughter was so called. Moreover, he takes the inscription at Čala to refer to still another member of the house: Joatham I's uncle, whom he makes, gratuitously, Prince-Master of the Horse (before the enfeoffment of Joatham I!) and Palatine of Gori and to whom he ascribes a wife named Gulk'an; *op. cit.* 163 n.4, 109. On the whole, Korbelašvili is not very reliable when dealing with the matrimonial alliances of the Zedginijes. — *Tables* 4.642 mentions *Eléné, fille d'une soeur du roi Bagrat, mariée à Sargis Mkhétzidzé* and places her mother, *N fille*, as a sister of Bagrat VI's grandson, Bagrat III of Imeretia!

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Dolgorukov, *Ross. Rod. Kniga* III 469-70. Joatham I's son, T'aqa II, is said to have married the Princess, which is an error.

¹⁷⁵ The earliest recorded member of this family is Doğorsnel Zedginije, in the mid-fourteenth century, in an inscription in the *synodicon* (MS No. 54) from Mt. Sinai; Č'agareli, *Pamātniki Gruzinskoy Starini* 220; Korbelašvili, *op. cit.* 121 n.43. One of his sons, Janibeg, 'a Prince greatly renowned in Iberia' (*Hist. Inv. Tim.* 875; Šaraf ad-dīn II 242) submitted to Timur in 1400. He was a Palatine of Gori (Korbelašvili, 102 n.3) and Šaraf ad-dīn records in the next chap. the capture of the fortress of Zarit(=Gori?); cf. Minorsky, *Encycl. Islam* s.v. 'Tifis' 757.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. notes on George VIII and Bagrat VI. — Joatham I was Doğorsnel's great-grandson; Korbelašvili 102, 104, 107, 109. His relative, the author of the *Zedginije Petition*, describes how Joatham (his name is not given in that fragmentary MS) took George VIII's place in the royal bed, in order to save the incredulous King from the plot and to prove to him its existence; and how he was, as a result, severely wounded by the conspirators. Vaxušt, who had access to the Amilaxvari archives, but who must have used other sources than the Petition (J IV 88-91) relates practically the same story; *History* (HG I 2) 685-7. He gives us the name of Joatham and states that he was murdered and that it was his children who profited by the royal largess. Possibly Joatham died soon after of the wounds he had received. Cf. *Almanach de Gotha* 1930 ff. ('Amilachvary'): there George VIII is called VII; also Dolgorukov, *Ross. Rod. Kniga, loc. cit.*

constituted the Principedom of Samilakhvaro.¹⁷⁷ This princely family played a leading role in Georgia to end of the Kingdom, and in the Russian Empire.¹⁷⁸

CONSTANTINE II. — Son of Demetrius III, as is proved by the documentary data¹⁷⁹ and attested by the historiographic sources.¹⁸⁰ This invalidates the older tradition dating from Vakhusht, and rejected by modern Georgian historians,¹⁸¹ which made him a son of George VIII (himself represented by Vakhusht as an elder brother of Demetrius).¹⁸² Constantine was co-opted by Bagrat VI c. 1466¹⁸³ and succeeded him upon the latter's death, in 1478, as is shown by the regnal years of his charters,¹⁸⁴ and also by the chronicles.¹⁸⁵

Constantine II recovered Imeretia from Bagrat VI's son Alexander (*q.v.*), who had revolted there, following the death of his father, in 1479 and in 1486/7, losing it to him in 1484 and, finally, in 1488.¹⁸⁶ In 1490-1491, on the advice of

¹⁷⁷ Samilaxoro or Samilaxaro, comprising Gori, Samt'avisi, Kaspi, K'vemo-Čala etc., was situated in Inner Iberia, on the left bank of the Kur; Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 240/241ff.; *Samilaxvros Davt'ari* (ed. Kakabaje, Tiflis 1925). George VIII must have elevated Joatham's eldest son, T'aqa II (or Joatham himself before he died) to the new honors immediately after the event, because soon afterwards the King was captured by Qvarqvaré III and never again ruled in Georgia.

¹⁷⁸ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this house ranked as third (after the Dukes of Aragvi and of K'sani) among the 'undivided' princes of Iberia (*mt'avar-s* cf. above, n.8). It was then that the name *Amilaxvar* became a surname of the heads of the house; the cadets being called *Amilaxvarisvili*. After the Russian annexation of Georgia, the family was received among the princes of the Empire under the name of Amilaxvari. Cf. Vaxtang VI, *code* §35; Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 42/43 46/47; *Akti* 2.39; Karst, *Comment.* I 228; Ivanenko, *Graždanskoe Upravlenie Zakavkaz'em* 9; Dolgorukov, *Ross. Rod. Kniga* III 496-7, II 62-3; *Spiski* 6; *Almanach de Gotha* 1930 ff. ('Amilachvary') (cf. above, n.61). — The enfeoffment of the Zedginijes with the immediate office-fiefs of the Crown was taken, in later tradition (cf. Vaxušt and the last three of the above works), to signify their elevation to the princely status. Nothing could be farther from the truth: in Georgia, before the Silver Age, as, let us say, in pre-Petrine Russia, the princely status was, at least in theory, a matter of dynastic origin, not of creation by the Crown (cf. above, n.8). Joatham I's great-uncle Janibeg was called prince in the sources (cf. above, n. 175). The might of this house is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that, far from suffering for its loyalty to the defeated George VIII, it had to be won over by his successful rival, Bagrat VI, by way of a matrimonial alliance.

¹⁷⁹ In his joint charter with Bagrat VI, of 1475 (AG 2.31), Constantine makes reference to his father, the King of Kings Demetrius and his mother Gulašar (cf. above, n.164); in that of 1466 (AG 2.13; for the date cf. J IV 92-3) he calls George VIII his uncle and speaks of 'Our aid' Gulašar; and in the charter of the nun Nino of the K'vat'axevi Convent, of 1477 (K 2.20-1), he is referred to as 'son of Demetrius'.

¹⁸⁰ *Hist. Alex. I.* 891; *Contin. II.* 895.

¹⁸¹ J IV 136; Kakabaje, *Sas. Sigel.* 31 and *Sak'art'velos Mokle Istoria* 4; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 126-7.

¹⁸² Vaxušt, *History* (HG II 1) 11; *Tables* 1.626; cf. Allen, *History* 138.

¹⁸³ Cf. below, chap. II.

¹⁸⁴ Charters of 1487 (Z 305-6), 1488 (Z 306), 1492 (Z 309-10; K 3.41-2); cf. J IV 134-5.

¹⁸⁵ *Chron. géorg.* 3/4; *Contin. II.* 895; a paschal chronicle ed. Z 298.

¹⁸⁶ Vaxušt, *History* (H II 1) 13-5, 251-3; J IV 140-2; Kakabaje, *Sas. Sigel.* 26 (his genealogy is incorrect).

a council composed of the lords spiritual and temporal of the Realm, Constantine concluded peace with the rival kings established in Kakhetia and Imeretia (the sons of George VIII and Bagrat VI, respectively), ratifying their independence.¹⁸⁷

King Constantine died in 1505,¹⁸⁸ having married c. 1478 Queen Tamar, whose origin is unknown to us, but regarding whose *Ebenbürtigkeit* (as in the case of other queens whose origins we cannot ascertain) there can be little doubt.¹⁸⁹ She appears in the King's diplomata of 1487 (Z 305-6), 1488 (Z 306), and 1492 (Z 309-10; K 3.41-2).

Constantine II was the founder of the House of Georgia, which reigned until its dispossession by the House of Kakhetia, in 1744.¹⁹⁰

N. PRINCESS. — Daughter of George VIII, betrothed in 1451 to Constantine XI Palaeologus, the last Roman Emperor of the East, who perished in the fall of Constantinople two years later. The betrothal was ratified by an imperial chrysobull.¹⁹¹ She married, subsequently, Prince George Shaburidze, son of Vameq, Duke of Aragvi, as is revealed by the latter's charter of 1465.¹⁹²

The tragic death of the Emperor Constantine XI must have caused his fiancée to take some steps towards embracing the religious life; else it would be difficult to understand why her marriage with Shaburidze should have been called 'blameworthy' and 'contrary to religion' in the charter of April 23, 1465 (K 2.15-8), whereby the Duke of Aragvi made amends for it to the Katholikos of Iberia.

¹⁸⁷ Vaxušt, *op. cit.* 149, 253, 211; J IV 158-69; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 131.

¹⁸⁸ *Dates* 384; *Tables* 1.626; — or in 1503: *Chron. géorg.* 3/5; *Contin. II.* 904.

¹⁸⁹ *Tables* 1.626; cf. J IV 136; cf. above, n.8.

¹⁹⁰ *Tables* 1. — Of the House of Georgia, the elder Royal line became extinct in 1658, and the younger line of the Princes of Muxrani still flourishes, as the eldest surviving line of the Bagratid race, having been received among the princes of the Russian Empire under the name of Bagration of Muxrani. And elder branch of the line of Muxrani, now extinct, succeeded in 1659 to the throne of Georgia, but was replaced on it by the House of Kakhetia in 1744 (cf. note on Alexander I of Kakhetia). Its descendants bore the Russian titles of Princes of Georgia and Princes Bagration. Cf. *ibid.*; Dolgorukov, *Ross. Rod Kniga* II 5-14, III 9, 458-9, 17-22; *Spiski* 10, 12, 31-2.

¹⁹¹ Phrantzes, *Annales* 3. 1-2; cf. Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* XXI (Paris 1836) 219-22; E. de Muralt, *Essai de chronographie byzantine* (St. Petersburg 1871) 873; J IV 44-6.

¹⁹² Javaxišvili, *loc. cit.*, is inclined to doubt the identity of the imperial fiancée with the wife of George Šaburije. He contends that the former, being at least thirteen or fourteen years of age at the time of her betrothal of Constantine XI, would have been judged too old for marriage by the standards of the time in 1465, at twenty-six or twenty-eight; and he is of the opinion that there must have been another daughter to George VIII, who married Šaburije. But George VIII married in 1445; his daughter, even if the elder of his children, could not have been more than about seven at the time of her betrothal (cf. Bagrat V marrying Anne Comnena, aged ten); so in 1465 she was about twenty. Duke Vameq's protestations that he was 'greatly unworthy' of this alliance might have been called for by the bride's quasi-imperial status. For the difficulties in connection with this marriage, cf. above, n.8.

The House of Shaburidze, which claimed descent from the Sassanids and to which belonged the queen of Vakhtang III of Georgia,¹⁹³ had once before lost the Duchy of Aragvi and now, despite the royal alliance, lost it again; for in his charter of June 28, 1474 (Z 291), granted to the church of the Nativity of Our Lady at Bodorna (Inner Ibera), Vameq Shaburidze refers to himself as 'duke in name only'.¹⁹⁴

ALEXANDER I OF KAKHETIA. — Son of George VIII of Georgia and I of Kakhetia (*q.v.*); born before 1457, when he first appears in his father's charters,¹⁹⁵ and co-opted by him *c.* 1460.¹⁹⁶ Upon George's death in 1476, Alexander succeeded him in Kakhetia¹⁹⁷ and was murdered by his own son, George II the Evil, on Low Sunday, *i.e.*, April 27, 1511.¹⁹⁸

King Alexander married a princess of the House of Irubakidze-Cholaqashvili whose name is variously given in the sources: as Anne and as Tinatin,¹⁹⁹ and who is first mentioned in her husband's charters of January 23 and 24, 1479 (Z 300-1; 301). Her family, originating from Daghestan and established in Kakhetia in 1320, was enfeoffed of the office of Prince-Master of the Palace of Kakhetia.²⁰⁰

The house founded by Alexander reigned in Kakhetia and, after 1744, in Georgia, until the Russian annexation of 1801.²⁰¹

¹⁹³ *Hist. Mong. Inv.* 763; *Tables* 1.624. — Vaxtang III reigned from 1301 to 1307.

¹⁹⁴ T'aqaišvili, 'Arxeolog. Ėkskursii,' *Sbornik Materialov* 43 (1913) 57-9; D. Bak'raje, 'Kavkaz v Drevnix Pamätnikax Xristianstva,' *Zapiski* of the Society of the Friends of Caucasian Archaeology (Tiflis 1875) 41-2. From the House of Šaburije, the Duchy of Aragvi passed to those of T'urmanije and Čarmeuli, and, finally, in the sixteenth century, to the House of Sidamoni; T'aqaišvili, *loc. cit.*; G. Sadzagelov-Iverieli, 'Ananurskiy Uspenskiy Sobor,' *Materiali po Arxeologii Kavkaza* 7.70.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. note on George VIII; J IV 43-4.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. below, chap. II.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. note on George VIII. — *Contin. II.* 894, 905, ascribes to Alexander an elder brother Vaxtang, who is said to have reigned between George VIII (I) and Alexander and to have died in 1510. This is quite spurious. George VIII's own diplomata mention only one, 'first-born' son, Alexander, and those of the latter prove him to have begun his reign in 1476, the year of George's death. This reference to Vaxtang is a trace of the less exact earlier stages of the K. V. Redaction of the Annals (*cf.* MGHL 163-4) and is due to a confusion with the children of Bagrat VI (*qq.v.*).

¹⁹⁸ Vaxušt, *History* (HG II 1) 149; *Dates* 384; *Tables* 2.634; *Chron. géorg.* 4/6; *Contin. II.* 906. George also blinded his younger brother Demetrius. Easter fell on Apr. 20 in 1511; *cf.* L. de Mas Latrie, *Trésor de chronologie* (Paris 1889) 467.

¹⁹⁹ *Tables* 2 634; *cf.* IV *Rapp.* 32; note on George VIII and n.108.

²⁰⁰ The Č'olaqašvilis constituted one of the two 'undivided' princely houses of Kakhetia (*cf.* above, n.8); after the Russian annexation, they were confirmed among the princes of the Empire under the name of Čelokaev (Čolokaev); Vaxušt, *Geogr. Description* 46/47; Heraclius II, *Short Description* (ed. *Iveria* 1884 No. 5) 33-4; P. Ioseliani, *Rod Knāzey Čelokaevix* (Tiflis 1866); Dolgorukov, *Ross. Rod. Kniga* III 477-8, II 62-3; *Akti* 2.38-43; *Spiski* 96, 99 (*cf.* above, n.61).

²⁰¹ *Tables* 2. — To this house belonged the last Kings of Georgia, Heraclius II (1762-1798) and George XIII (XII) (1798-1801), whose posterity bore, after the Russian annexation, the Russian title of Princes of Georgia. A collateral branch, descended from

VAKHTANG. — This elder son of Bagrat VI, who must have died *vita parentis*, is known from the undated diploma of Bagrat to Absalom Gelovani, Duke of Suania (confirmed by Alexander II of Imeretia; AG 2.488) and from another, also undated, charter of the same to the Abbey of Gelati (*Introduction ccii*).²⁰²

ALEXANDER II OF IMERETIA. — Second son of Bagrat VI, as is revealed by the latter's diploma to the Duke of Suania, confirmed by Alexander (AG 2.358). He attempted to seize Imeretia after his father's death, in 1478, but failed in 1479. In 1484, from which date he computes his regnal years in his documents (charter of 1495 [Z 311]) he wrested Imeretia from Constantine II of Georgia (*q.v.*), losing it to him again in 1486/7 and securing it definitely in 1488.²⁰³

Alexander II died on April 1, 1510,²⁰⁴ having married Queen Tamar, who appears in his diplomata of 1495, 1502 (Z 311, 318-9) and 1509 (ed. Kakabaje, *Dasavlet' Sak'art'velos Sabut'ebi*; cf. J. IV 141, 142, 219), whose death occurred on March 12, 1510,²⁰⁵ and of whose origin we know nothing.²⁰⁶

King Alexander founded the House of Imeretia, which reigned until the Russian annexation of that kindom in 1810.²⁰⁷

Alexander I's blinded, younger son Demetrius (cf. above, n.198) was received into the princely nobility of the Russian Empire under the name of (Davidov-)Bagration(-ov); cf. *ibid.*; Dolgorukov, *Ross. Rod. Kniga* III 17-22, 458, 471-4; *Spiski* 32, 34.

²⁰² *Tables* 4.642. — The confusion of this Vaxtang with his brother Alexander's son of the same name, who revolted against his brother, Bagrat III of Imeretia (*Chron. géorg.* 4/5) and even issued diplomata as king (*Introduction cciii*), produced a composite figure, ascribed by the *Contin. II* as an elder brother to Alexander I of Kakhetia (cf. above, n.197); cf. Brosset, *HG* II 1.322 n.3, 329-30 n.1. This is an added proof of the dependence of the two *Contin.* of the Annals on (a source of) the *Chron. géorg.*; cf. note on Bagrat VI.

²⁰³ Cf. note on Constantine II. Yet Alexander's charter of 1509 dates his regnal years from 1494, which is probably an error; J IV 141. — Alexander is called 'the Second', because a Seljukid duke of Imeretia, who revolted there in 1387, is counted as Alexander 'the First'. For the Imeretian dukes cf. note on Alexander I of Georgia.

²⁰⁴ *Contin. II.* 905; *Dates* 384: both give 1510 (but without the month or the day); *Chron. géorg.* 4/5 has April 1, 1507. The year of the latter date is obviously incorrect: the entry G. E. 195 (=A.D. 1507), recording the deaths of Alexander, his wife, and his mother, and the struggle for the succession between his sons, Bagrat III and Vaxtang, is found between the years 1509 and 1511. The error results from writing the *k'oronikon* 195, in Georgian (*mredruli*) *r.ž.e.*, instead of the correct 198=1510, in Georgian *r.ž.ē*. Cf. Brosset, *HG* II 1.322 n.3, 329-30 n.1.

²⁰⁵ *Chron. géorg.* 4/5; *Dates* 384; *Contin. II.* 905. The latter work has April 1 for her death, but no month or day for that of Alexander, which is obviously due to a misreading of the sources.

²⁰⁶ Cf. above, n.8.

²⁰⁷ *Tables* 4. — The House of Imeretia was subdivided in several branches bearing, after the Russian annexation, the titles of Princes Bagration of Imeretia, Princes Bagration, Princes of Imeretia, and Princes Bagration-Davidov; cf. *ibid.*; Dolgorukov, *Ross. Rod. Kniga* III 5-8; *Spiski* 11, 44. — Instead of the above-mentioned children of Bagrat VI, as revealed by the documentary sources, the *Constin. II.* 892 gives Bagrat two sons, named Alexander and David. In view of the unreliability of this eighteenth-century account and in the absence of confirmation by some other sources, the existence of David cannot be accepted.

II. THE INSTITUTION OF COLLEGIAL SOVEREIGNTY IN GEORGIA

The elaboration of the genealogy of the Bagratid dynasty in the fifteenth century provides a framework for this chapter, which is to deal with the constitutional problem of collegial sovereignty and its historical application. The system of collegial kingship appears to be a salient feature of the Georgian polity of the fifteenth century; all the historical material at our disposal points to it; and without it, no satisfactory understanding of the history of that century and of the Partition of Georgia, which concluded it, can be attained. Nevertheless, as has been remarked elsewhere, this feature seems, surprisingly enough, never to have been recognized as a system, let alone studied, in Georgian historiography.

The phenomenon of what may be termed *pluralistic monarchy*¹ has obtained in different polities. Two main aspects or types are observable in it. One is the practice of *co-optation of the heir*; the other, the system of *collegial sovereignty*. The arrangement called *dynastic condominium* can be considered as still another aspect of pluralistic monarchy. But, whereas the first two are marked by the plurality of dynasts in the unity of the Crown, the third one is characterized by the plurality of crowns in the unity of dynasty.

All the three types have existed in Georgia. This study, however, is concerned only with the system of collegial sovereignty, which was prevalent in that country, especially in the fifteenth century, and which conditioned the break-up of its unity. Before approaching this system, a glance at the cognate practice of co-opting the heir, as manifested in Georgia, may be of interest.

Association or co-optation of the heir is found in various countries and at different epochs, and it appears to be almost as old as monarchy itself. It springs from the necessity of securing the legitimate or desired succession in the face of unfavorable circumstances. It can be witnessed in Capetian France, Plantagenet England, or the Seleucid realm. And it was widely practised in Georgia, where it appears to be a purely autochthonous growth.

Its first instance occurred in the tenth century. When Iberia (the nucleus of the Georgian State) was regained in 975 from its Abasgian conquerors, it was offered, not to its legitimate and heretofore titular king, Bagrat II the Foolish, but to his grandson, the future Bagrat III. As he was still a minor, his father Gurgen mounted the Iberian throne. In 978, the young Bagrat inherited, through his mother, the crown of Abasgia and, upon Gurgen's death in 1008, succeeded his father in Iberia, the old Bagrat II having passed away in 994.² This case presents an interesting juridical situation. Until his death,

¹ Though semantically a *contradictio in adiectu*, this term is no more self-contradictory than the thing itself. 'Oligarchy' or 'polyarchy' are inadequate, for they have decidedly too non-monarchical a connotation; and, for that matter also, 'oligarchic' or 'polyarchic monarchy'. It is to be emphasized that, whatever the number of its holders, the power under such a system remains unimpairedly monarchical.

² Cf. J II 419-23; Z. Avalichvili, 'La succession du europalate David d'Ibérie, dynaste de Tao,' *Byzantion* 8 (1933); Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 120-2. For the Abasgian conquest of Iberia, cf. above, chap. I n.30.

Bagrat the Foolish was *de jure* King of Iberia; but, from 975, his son Gurgen was king *de facto*. Since the royal dignity of either one does not appear to have been questioned, it must be assumed that Gurgen was, *de jure*, a co-king with his father.³ It happened, accordingly, that the king-regnant *de jure* was *de facto* a co-king (Bagrat II); whereas the *de jure* co-king was *de facto* the reigning sovereign (Gurgen). The same situation will be repeated in the case of Demetrius III and George VIII.⁴

Co-optation of the heir, before the fifteenth century, occurred also in the following instances: George II (1072-1089) and his son David II (c. 1085-1089); the latter (1089-1125) (and his father George II [1098-1112]) and his son Demetrius I (1125; 1125-1155);⁵ George III (1156-1184) and his daughter Tamar (1179-1184);⁶ that Queen (1184-1212) and her son George IV (1205-1212; 1212-1223);⁷ Queen Rusudan (1223-1245) and her son David IV (1234-1245; 1250-1258);⁸ David VII (1346-1360) and his son Bagrat V (c. 1355-1360);⁹ the latter (1360-1395) and his son George VII (1369-1395; 1395-1405).¹⁰

Collegial sovereignty is distinguishable from co-optation of the heir in that it represents a fixed constitutional system of pluralistic monarchy, honorific in character and irrespective of circumstances; whereas the latter is but an opportunistic adaptation to the exigencies of the moment. Collegial kingship was practised twice in the Georgian polity, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in the fifteenth, and in both cases under Byzantine influence.

Something similar to this system can be observed in Georgia at another, still earlier, instance, in the joint rule of David IV and David V, in 1250-1258.¹¹ Yet, it appears not as a fixed system of monarchy, but rather as the only solution of a dynastic complication by way of legitimizing a powerful anti-king.

³ The quarrel, in 988, between Bagrat the Foolish and his cousin David of Tao on the one hand, and, on the other, Gurgen and his son Bagrat, may have been caused by Gurgen's attempt to relegate his father to a *de jure* position of co-king. Cf. *Chron. Iber.* QA 174-5=QM 240-1; Stephen Asotik, *Universal History* 3.28 (tr. F. Macler, Paris 1917, 134).

⁴ Cf. notes on Demetrius III and George VIII in chap. I; and below.

⁵ Cf. MGH 174 n.63.

⁶ Cf. Žordania, *K'ronikebi* 1 (Tiflis 1892) 255-8, 259, 266-7, 268-9, 300ff.

⁷ *Ibid.* 294.

⁸ *Hist. Mong. Inv.* 582-3.

⁹ This is revealed by the charter of 1355 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 8), issued by the 'King . . . son of the Great King David'. Brosset (*ibid.*) was inclined to doubt the authenticity of this document solely on the ground that Bagrat could not have been King in 1355, since his father, David VII, was still alive. Brosset was obviously ignorant of the system of co-optation of the heir, which is here presented with a special clarity in the correlation of the terms 'King' and 'Great King'; cf. below.

¹⁰ This is attested by George VII's charter of 1393 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 9), written in his 24th regnal year. Brosset (*ibid.*) again was at a loss before this renewed manifestation of co-kingship. And yet the *Hist. Inv. Tim.* refers to George as king in the lifetime of Bagrat V; 857, 866, 867 (in 1386 and 1393).

¹¹ Cf. above, chap. I, note on Alexander I.

It is thus nearer to the practice of associating the heir, though lacking in its purposefulness.

The two cases of collegial sovereignty have the appearance, on the other hand, of a definitely constitutionalized system of monarchy, and no dynastic necessity, as in the case of David IV and David V, presents itself to account for it. It is significant, moreover, that in both cases this system was inaugurated by the children of Comnenian princesses. This can not have been a mere coincidence. It is true, to be sure, that in the Empire of Trebizond itself, whence the two Comnenian Queens of Georgia came, the practice of pluralistic monarchy appears never to have passed beyond the phase of co-optation of the heir; nevertheless, the Trapezuntine polity — like the culture and the very *Weltanschauung* of Megalocomnenian Trebizond — was derived from the Byzantine Empire.¹² And the salient feature of the Byzantine imperial constitution was precisely the institution of collegial sovereignty. So the imperial princesses of Trebizond, scions and relatives of great Eastern Roman dynasties, were no doubt thoroughly conversant with the Byzantine, and not only with the derivative Trapezuntine, political forms. Thus, the Bagratido-Comnenian matrimonial alliances constituted, as it were, the channel through which these forms could be and were transmitted to influence and mould the Georgian polity.

The collegial character of the Byzantine βασιλεία and of the earlier Roman *imperium* is usually traced back to the same character of the proconsular *imperium* and the tribunician *potestas* of republican Rome.¹³ It cannot, consequently, be regarded as evolved merely out of the practice of associating the heir with the imperial title, as inaugurated by the Antonines; but must be considered rather as based, together with that practice, upon the older tribunician and proconsular collegiality. As a matter of fact, moreover, the pluralistic *imperium* from the age of the Antonines to the end of the third century was, for all its tendency towards collegial forms, in reality never anything but an

¹² It will be recalled that the early Trapezuntine sovereigns used the Eastern Roman imperial style of βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, and that it took a considerable diplomatic pressure on the part of the Palaeologi, then newly established at Constantinople, to induce one of them to change, after 1282, his title to βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πάσης Ἀνατολῆς, Ἰβήρων καὶ Περσέας. In other words, the early Grand Comneni regarded themselves, theoretically at least, as the legitimate heirs of the Roman Empire (of the East), or rather as titular Roman Emperors, merely resident at Trebizond in expectation of Constantinople; for in the Byzantine ideology of the period, there could be but one Roman Empire. Cf. Vasiliev, *The Foundation of the Emp. of Trebizond* 30ff.; Miller, *Trebizond* 26ff.; D. Zakythinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris 1932) 92.

¹³ J. B. Bury, *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1910) 16ff. For Roman imperial collegiality cf. also E. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium romanum* (Leipzig and Berlin 1930); J. R. Palanque, 'Collégialité et partages dans l'Empire romain aux IV^e et V^e siècles,' *Revue des études anciennes* 46 (1944) 47-64, 280-298.

opportunistic adaptation to circumstances.¹⁴ It was left to the reforms of Diocletian finally and definitely to fix the imperial power in collegial forms.

The collegial *imperium* — βασιλεία appears to be, like the Roman emperorship itself, a unique institution peculiar to the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, the Roman imperial power was a child not only of the republican institutions of Rome, but also of the Hellenistic divine monarchies.¹⁵ Accordingly, it would seem inadequate to limit the search for the origins of its collegial character to the Roman republican past alone.

And, indeed, the Hellenistic East, which contributed to the formation of the Roman emperorship, provides numerous instances of pluralistic monarchy to account, in part at least, for the imperial collegial forms. There, co-optation of the heir was practised, for instance, by the Seleucids and the Ptolemies.¹⁶ And, what is most important, a full-fledged system of collegial sovereignty actually obtained among the latter, arising not from the purely opportunistic practice of associating the heir, but from the fixed and purely honorific system of the brother-and-sister theogamies adhered to by them.¹⁷

Now, the question of Ptolemaic influence on the formation of the imperial ideology of Diocletian and his associates has been raised and successfully answered in the affirmative in recent historical literature.¹⁸ It may be suggested, furthermore, that, besides shaping the imperial theogonies of the Jovians and the Herculians, that influence had also a share in Diocletian's establishment of the (tetrarchic) collegial form of the Roman *imperium*.¹⁹

¹⁴ Cf. A. Paillard, *Histoire de la transmission du pouvoir impérial à Rome et à Constantinople* (Paris 1875) 7-188.

¹⁵ Cf. L. Bréhier, 'L'origine des titres impériaux à Byzance,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 15 (1906) 161-78.

¹⁶ Thus, e.g. Seleucus I (305-280) co-opted his son Antiochus I in 293; the latter (281-262/1), in 266, his son Antiochus II (261-247) etc. Likewise, the following Lagids practiced association of the heir: Ptolemy I (305-283/2) and his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus (284; 283-245); the latter and his son Ptolemy III (Nov. 12/13, 247; 245-221) as well, perhaps, as another son, the problematic co-king Ptolemy (266-258); Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-203) and his son Ptolemy V Epiphanes (209; 203-181); Ptolemy VI (181-169) and his two sons Ptolemy Eupator (153/2-c.150) and Ptolemy Philopator (bef. 145; d. 145); and Cleopatra VI (51-30) and his son Ptolemy XIV Caesar (44-30).

¹⁷ The theogamic collegial kingship of the Lagids (for the most part between brother and sister) can be observed in the following cases: the *Soter*es Ptolemy I and Berenice I (posthumously); the *Adelphi* Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II; the *Euergetae* Ptolemy III and Berenice II; the *Philopatores* Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III; Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I; the *Philometores* Ptolemy VI, Cleopatra II, and Ptolemy VII; the *Euergetae* Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III; the *Philometores Soter*es Cleopatra III and Ptolemy VIII; the *Philometores* Ptolemy IX and Berenice III; the *Philometores Soter*es Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX; the *Philadelph*i *Philometores Soter*es Ptolemy VIII and Berenice III; Ptolemy X and Berenice III; the *Philopatores Philadelph*i Ptolemy XI and Cleopatra VI; the *Philopatores* (?) Cleopatra VI and Ptolemy XII; and the *Philopatores* Cleopatra VI and Ptolemy XIII.

¹⁸ J. Maurice, 'Les Pharaons romains,' *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 71-103.

¹⁹ Cf. W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie* (Paris 1946) 249: 'Résumé: La Tétrarchie

An examination of the two principal aspects of pluralistic monarchy demonstrates that collegial sovereignty possesses, besides the strictly functional character which belongs to co-optation of the heir, also a purely honorific note. This new trait appertains to it exclusively and distinguishes it from both the type of association of the heir and the by-type of dynastic condominium; and the essential inherence of this new trait may bear out the suggestion that the Empire's collegial sovereignty derived in part from the Ptolemaic theogamous collegiality, which was based on religious and therefore honorific, and not on political and consequently opportunistic, considerations.

At all events, whatever its origin, this peculiarly Romano-Byzantine aspect of pluralistic monarchy made its appearance in Georgia twice, on each occasion under Byzantine influence. It is not devoid of interest, therefore, to compare the working of this system in the Empire and in Georgia.

In the Empire, despite the collegiality of sovereignty, only one, the senior emperor exercised the full monarchical power; whereas his colleagues were, as Bury puts it, mere sleeping partners, enjoying but the dignity and the expectation of succession. The imperial power being elective in principle, the imperial dignity was essentially non-hereditary. Dynastic continuity was achieved through the practice of co-optation, and of all the members of the imperial college, the senior emperor alone could, in this way, transmit the supreme power.²⁰ This situation found expression in the imperial nomenclature. Although all the members of imperial college were equally invested with the imperial dignity, nevertheless, beginning in the ninth century, a distinction was made between the emperor-regnant, invested with the plenitude of sovereignty, and his co-emperors. In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheus, the former is denominated *αὐτοκράτωρ βασιλεὺς* in contradistinction to his colleague, the (*δεύτερος*) *βασιλεὺς*.²¹ The Ceremonial Book of Constantine VII constantly makes the distinction between the *μέγας* or *πρῶτος βασιλεὺς* and the *μικροὶ [βασιλεῖς]*.²² In the eleventh century, *βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ* came to designate the senior Augustus, though the title of *αὐτοκράτωρ* might occasionally be applied also to co-emperors.²³ The latter were, likewise, referred to by the title of

a un fondement tout religieux.' The possibilities of Egyptian influences, however, are not taken into account.

²⁰ Bury, *Constitution of the Later Roman Empire*, loc. cit. and *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London 1931) I 5-7. — Exceptions to this rule are found in the (usually two) parallel and territorially distinct imperial organizations which existed between the reforms of Diocletian and the end of the Western imperial line, and in the rise and the Byzantine recognition of the Holy Roman Emperors, which was tantamount, in theory at least, to a resuscitation of the Western half of the Roman Empire: Bury, *Constitution* 16-7. Another exception was the joint rule, in the East, of the last Basilids, Zoe and Theodora, in the eleventh century.

²¹ Philotheus, *Kletorologion*, apud Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerim.* (PG 143) 1308.

²² Constantine, *De cerim.* 989, 993, 1000, 1028, 1029, 1036, 1173.

²³ Bury, *Constitution* 21; DuCange, *Gloss. graec.* I (Lyons 1688) 156-7.

συμβασιλεύς.²⁴ Nevertheless, the plural form *οι αυτοκράτορες* invariably designated all the Augusti.²⁵

A similar situation prevailed in Georgia. There, under the system of collegial sovereignty, only one, the senior colleague was king-regnant. He issued the official documents and was invested with the plenitude of the royal power. His co-kings were 'sleeping partners' who enjoyed the co-equality of dignity and expectation (if any) of succession. Small wonder, then, that historians — with all the dearth of historical material for the centuries under discussion; a dearth greater still at the formative epoch of Georgian historiography — were led to overlook altogether the extraneous constitutional development transplanted on Georgian soil, and that they counted only the kings-regnant as kings at all; which is as though one were to count but the senior Augusti among the Romano-Byzantine rulers, overlooking their co-emperors.²⁶

In official documents (letters-patent, writs, etc.), the title of the king-regnant was almost invariably *mep'et'-mep'e* ('king of kings'), seldom only *mep'e* ('king'), and occasionally *didi-mep'e* ('great king').²⁷ Co-kings were mentioned with, or frequently without, the title of King; in either case, the full royal style of the Kings of Georgia²⁸ followed, on occasions, not only the

²⁴ Bury, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ Bury, *Hist. Later Rom. Emp.* I 7 n.1.

²⁶ It must be noted, however, that one modern Georgian historian, S. Kakabaje, has recognized the existence of co-kings in Georgia — though not, it seems, of the system of co-kingship.

²⁷ The title of King of Kings was adopted by Gurgen, father of Bagrat III (cf. above) upon the death of his own father Bagrat II, in 994. Gurgen was then King of Iberia and his son, King of Abasgia; cf. J II 412; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 122. In the case of Georgia, this title implied not so much what the genitive case suggests, i.e., 'king over other kings', as the superlative degree (of kingship) occasionally expressed by that case (N. Marr and M. Brière, *La Langue géorgienne* [Paris 1931] 79 §96.2b), i.e., 'great king, from among other kings'; in a word, a monarch wholly independent of others, an autocrat. Thus *mep'et'-mep'e* was a semantic equivalent of the Byzantine *βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ*, of which it also became a constitutional counterpart in the fifteenth century. The consort of a *mep'et'-mep'e* was *dedep'alt'-dedop'al* ('queen of queens'). Georgian being devoid of the distinctions of gender, a queen-regnant (like the great Tamar) might be styled *mep'e* or *mep'et'-mep'e*. — For instances of the above-mentioned uses of royal titles, cf. below; for 'Great King' cf. above, n.9.

²⁸ The royal style of the fifteenth-century Kings of Georgia was composed of geopolitical formulae and honorific epithets. The former were fixed, the latter variable. The formulae reflected the historical development of the Georgian State: the union of Western and Eastern Georgia, perennially separated by the Lixi mountains, and the acquisition of other kingdoms. They were as follows: (A) Of Abasgia (and) Iberia, (B) Albania, Kakhetia, and Armenia, King; (C) Šahanšah and Širvanšah [the title of the Kings of Armenia and that of the vassal Kings of Shirvan]; (D) Lord of the Two Thrones and Realms, Hither and Thither of the Lixi-s. The epithets included: (E) King of Kings [acquiring under the system of collegial sovereignty the specific constitutional meaning of king-regnant as distinct from his co-kings]; (F) God-crowned (or variants); (G) Sovereign and Autocrat of All the East (and variants). The relative position of these formulae and epithets varied considerably. Epithet E was conjoined with the name of the monarch as was also the dynastic surname of Jessian-Davidian-Solomonian-Bagratid. Cf. Brosset, *IV Rapp.* 39-48;

name of the senior king, but also those of his colleagues.²⁹ Thus, the *mep'et'-mep'e* of the Georgian polity corresponds to the βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ of the Imperial constitution, and the *mep'e* to the βασιλεὺς alone or its variants. The occasional omission of the royal title of co-kings (and never of the king-regnant) in the official documents has been exploited by Djavakhishvili as an argument against the existence of co-optation.³⁰ Instances of omission of the title were used by him as a ground for explaining away its occasional occurrence.

The first instance of collegial sovereignty in Georgia belongs to the years 1291-1318. When the Mongols, who had established their suzerainty over Georgia in 1243, barbarously executed in 1289 King Demetrius II the Devoted, who had given himself up in order to save his people, the throne passed to Vakhtang II (1289-1292), son of the Seljukid, David IV.³¹ Upon the death of the Ilkhan Arghun in 1291, however, Demetrius' eldest son by a Princess of Trebizond,³² David (VI), was recognized by the Mongols as Vakhtang's co-king. He succeeded Vakhtang in 1292, but was reduced to co-kingship by his younger brother Vakhtang III (1301-1307); and he continued till his death in 1310 as a co-king with the latter's successor and his own son, George VI the Little (1307-1318). In the meantime, the youngest son of Demetrius II by another marriage, with Natela, daughter of Beka II, Duke of Meschia,³³ was set up as a co-king in Iberia, in 1299. He was George (V), later known as 'the Illustrious.' He became Regent for George the Little in 1307; and in 1318 he replaced his nephew as king-regnant. With the death of George the Little, the system of collegial sovereignty came to a natural end.³⁴

S. Kakabaje, 'Gramota Carič Tamarī Velikoy na Imā Gelat ot 1193 g.', *Bulletin de l'Institut caucasien d'histoire et d'archéologie* 3 (1925) 111-20; *idem*, 'Gramota Gruzinskogo Carā Georgiā III po Povodu Vosstaniā Knāzey Orbel-i v 1177 g.' *ibidem* 4 (1926) 123-5.

²⁹ For examples, cf. below.

³⁰ J IV 19, 36-7, 102-3, 135.

³¹ Cf. above, chap. I, note on Alexander I.

³² Above, chap. I, n.21.

³³ *Hist. Mong. Inv.* 734, 745; Bek'a II's other daughter married, in 1297, the Emperor Alexius II of Trebizond, nephew of the queen of Demetrius II; *ibid.* 758; Panaretus 6.269; Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo* 4.7.

³⁴ The scantiness of documentary sources for the period forces one to rely exclusively on the near-contemporary *Hist. Mong. Inv.* of the anonymous Meschian Chronographer (MGHL 176). The following chronological table is based on it (the names of co-kings are indented):

Demetrius II the Devoted, †1289
 Vaxtang II, 1289-1292 (*Hist. Mong. Inv.* 744-7)
 David (VI) 1291 (*ibid.* 746)
 David VI, 1292-1301 (*ibid.* 749-63)
 George (V) in Iberia, 1299 (*ibid.* 758-9)
 Vaxtang III, 1301-1307 (*ibid.* 758-9)
 David (VI)
 George (V)

Outwardly, the elevation of David VI, George V, and Vakhtang III to the royal dignity, while others sat on the throne of Georgia, depended on their Mongol suzerains. Since, however, the Mongols are not known to have introduced collegial kingship in any other of their dependencies and are known to have always respected local political forms, there can be no doubt that, in the case of Georgia, they merely sanctioned the Byzantine practice, which presented itself to the children of a Comnenian princess and the nephew of a Trapezuntine empress³⁵ as the only means of satisfying their dynastic ambitions.³⁶

The Byzantine system of collegial sovereignty made its second appearance in Georgia in the fifteenth century — this time with consequences of vital importance for the country's history. It is the instance under discussion in the present study. As in the first case, the system was adopted by the descendants of a Princess of Trebizond: Anne Comnena, the consort of Bagrat V. Queen Anne was a daughter of the Emperor Alexius III and Theodora Cantacuzena,³⁷ and a sister of the Emperor Manuel III, who appears to have been the first of the Grand Comneni to have espoused the system of pluralistic monarchy at Trebizond.³⁸

George VI the Little, 1307-1318 (*ibid.* 781-5)

George (V) Regent (*ibid.* 782)

David (VI) †1310 (*ibid.* 783)

George V the Illustrious, begins as king-regnant, 1318 (*ibid.* 785)

Needless to say, the numbers of different kings are those of the traditional historiography stemming from Vaxust, and stand in need of revision. Thus, George the Illustrious should be 'the Sixth' and George the Little 'the Fifth'. All this is due to the inability of older historians to accept the fact of collegial sovereignty in Georgia. Brosset, however, admitted the following: (1) David VI: *roi du vivant de Vaxtang II, but déposé et remplacé par Vaxtang III*. This is contrary to the *Hist. Mong. Inv.*, where it is said (766) that, upon becoming king, Vaxtang III 'did not go against his brother David' and where the latter is mentioned as king at his death (783). However, Vaxtang, not David, was the king-regnant thereafter, as is evident from the context of pp. 762-81, as well as from the narrative of his war against the Sultan of Egypt (QM 772-7, notes; cf. MGHL 178). — (2) Vaxtang III: *règne du vivant de ses frères David and George V*. — (3) George VI the Little: *roi . . . sous la tutelle de George V*. — (4) George V the Illustrious: *roi du temps de David V, 1299-1301 puis 1318-1346* . . . But the *Hist. Mong. Inv.* does not indicate that he was ever deprived of his royal dignity after his elevation to it in 1299. He was set up, it is true, by the Mongols with the intention 'to replace' David, as king-regnant (758-759). Since, however, David remained sovereign throughout Georgia, and George only held Tiflis, he was at best a co-king appanaged therein; or else an anti-king. Cf. *Tables* 1.624.

³⁵ Cf. above, n.33.

³⁶ The typically Byzantine character of the system adopted in Georgia will become apparent upon comparing the above list of the kings (n.34) with any table of the Eastern Emperors. Of course, although collegial sovereignty is distinguished from co-optation of the heir by its purely honorific character, it has been resorted to occasionally for purely practical considerations also.

³⁷ Cf. above, chap. I, note on Bagrat V.

³⁸ Miller, *Trebizond* 73, refers to pluralistic monarchy as old-established in Trebizond, yet Manuel III is the first Trapezuntine sovereign indicated as having practiced it.

Bagrat V himself, according to the Bagratid custom dating from the tenth century, co-opted in 1369 only his eldest son and heir, George. George VII ascended the throne after him in 1395 and died without issue in 1405.³⁹ But his successor, Constantine I, Bagrat's son by his second wife, Anne Comnena, co-opted in characteristically Byzantine fashion, between 1405 and 1408, all of his sons: Alexander (I), Bagrat, and George. In his charter of July 4, 1408 (AG 3.461) the royal style follows the names both of Constantine and his three sons. What is more, although the ending of word 'King(s)' is deleted in the document so that it is impossible to determine its number, the epithet 'Sovereign and Autocrat (of All the East etc.)' is in the plural (*xelmcip'ed-t'uit'-mp'lobel-mpqrobelt'asa*). Even if the singular were used, as it often is in such cases, the implication would still remain the same, once the royal style followed the names, for Georgian can on occasions replace the plural by the singular.⁴⁰ But in King Alexander I's own diplomata, his brothers Bagrat and George figure without the royal title.⁴¹ There can be little doubt that this action of King Constantine was, like his own name and those of his sister and eldest son, derived from his maternal relatives, the Comneni and the Cantacuzeni.⁴²

Alexander I (1412-1442), succeeding Constantine I, co-opted all of his sons: Vakhtang (IV), Demetrius (III), George (VIII), and Zaal, save one: David, destined for the Church; and he appanaged the third son in Kakhetia. This took place in 1433. Of the eldest son, Vakhtang (IV), we have only one charter issued while he was still a prince royal, in 1429 (*résumé*, *IV Rapp.* 14);⁴³ he appears as King with the King of Kings, his father, in the latter's diplomata of 1433 [I, II] (K 3.15-6; Z 239-40; and K 3.17) and 1438 [I] (K

³⁹ Cf. above, n.10 and Chap. I, note on George VII.

⁴⁰ Marr and Brière, *La Langue géorgienne* 266.

⁴¹ Above, chap. I, n.72.

⁴² The following Byzantine instances of collegial sovereignty will be recalled in this context: Heraclius (610-641) and his sons Constantine(III)-Heraclius, co-opted in 613, and Heracleonas, in 638; Constans II (641-668) and his sons Constantine (IV), Tiberius (IH) and Heraclius in 659; Basil I (867-886) and his sons Constantine in 869, Leo (VI) in 870, and Alexander in 871; Romanus I Lecapenus (919-944), his sons Christopher in 921, Stephen and Constantine in 923, and the former Emperor-regnant Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus; John V Palaeologus (1355-1390) and his sons Andronicus (IV) in 1379 and Manuel (II) in 1386; cf. DuCange, *Familiae augustae byzantinae* (Paris 1680) 117-9, 120, 138-41, 142, 146-7, 239-43; Muralt, *Essai de chronographie byzantine*, 395-1057 (St. Petersburg 1855) 270-2, 290, 446, 450, 452, 498, 502; *ibid.* 1057-1453 (St. Petersburg 1871) 700, 708.—Constantine I's maternal grandmother, Theodora Cantacuzena, was a cousin of the Roman Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus (1347-1355), who in 1348 reduced the reigning Emperor John Palaeologus to co-emperorship, and elevated to it his own son Matthew; cf. below, n.47.

⁴³ This charter led Kakabaje to assume that Vaxtang and perhaps Demetrius were co-kings from that date; *Sas. Sigel.* 12. As has been said above in the Introduction, charters (letters-patent) conferring or confirming privileges and donations were issued in feudal Georgia not only by reigning sovereigns, but also by members of their families and lords spiritual and temporal.

3.20-1), with the royal style following the names of himself and his brothers as well as that of their father; he figures, together with his brothers, without the royal title, but with the royal style in the same position in the charter of 1438 [II] (K 3.18-20); and he is mentioned without any royal title before, or royal style after, his own or his brothers' names in other acts of Alexander I.⁴⁴ Demetrius (III), the second son, left a diploma dated August 26, 1445 (Z 257), in which he calls himself (in the reign of Vakhtang IV) 'King Demetrius, son of the King of Kings Alexander';⁴⁵ and the third son George (VIII) entitles himself (before his assumption of the supreme power) in his charter of March 7, 1446 (résumé, *IV Rapp.* 21) 'King of Kakhetia, son of the King of Kings . . . Alexander'. This charter is written in George's thirteenth regnal year, which means that he became king in 1433 — the very year in which the royal style first appears, in the diplomata of Alexander I, following the name of George and those of his brothers.⁴⁶

Alexander I abdicated in 1442 and was followed on the throne by his eldest son Vakhtang IV (1442-1446) as king-regnant, with the younger Demetrius and George (of Kakhetia) as co-kings. When Vakhtang died, without issue, in 1446, Demetrius III (1446-1453) became king-regnant, but *de jure* only, for the third brother, George VIII (1446-1465), made himself *de facto* reigning King of Georgia, reducing Demetrius, and then elevating his own son Alexander, to the position of co-kings.

George VIII possessed the plenitude of sovereignty, and the state documents,

⁴⁴ Javaxišvili hesitates to accept the fact of Vaxtang's co-optation and endeavors to explain it away by declaring as doubtful the charter of 1438 [II]; J IV 19. But the act of 1433 [II], for instance, wherein Vaxtang is also mentioned as king (and the authenticity of which Javaxišvili does not question), alone suffices to prove that fact. The hesitancy of the learned historian is due, no doubt, to his lack of insight in the system of collegial monarchy as practiced in fifteenth-century Georgia.

⁴⁵ Javaxišvili, as is his wont, attempts to explain away the fact of Demetrius's co-kingship by dismissing his charter of 1445 as unreliable, because it is a later copy, and by urging the fact that the original act of George VIII of Dec. 25, 1449 (K 3.29-32; Z 261) mentions Demetrius without the royal dignity: this must signify, according to him, that Demetrius was never king; J IV 36-7. He confuses here two distinct problems: (1) Demetrius' co-kingship and (2) his *de jure* status as king-regnant. As regards the latter, the Georgian scholar's argument is invalidated by the diplomatic sources adduced below. As for the former, it is borne out by other evidence than the charter he adduces. In 1446 George reduced Demetrius to the *de facto* position of a co-king, hence the omission of the latter's royal title (not infrequent in the cases of co-kings) in 1449.

⁴⁶ It is true that the *Hist. Alex. I.* 890, 891, states that George was established as King of Kakhetia in 1445; but this is completely outweighed by the charter of March 7, 1446. Moreover, Brosset mentions an inscription on the altar of the church of the Abbey of the Archangels at Gremi (Kakhetia), dated 1441, 'under the truly faithful King, the Despot George'; *IV Rapp.* 22. Javaxišvili considers the information of the above chronicle erroneous on the ground that George became King of Georgia in 1446 (1447 is a *lapsus calami*); J IV 36. But the point in question is not his becoming King of Georgia, but his being made a co-king in Kakhetia. Kakabaje is right in considering 1433/4 as the date of the elevation of George to the co-kingship with Kakhetia as appanage; *Sas. Sigel.* 12.

all issued by him alone in the years 1446-1465, entitle him 'King of Kings'.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Demetrius also is so entitled (by the legitimism of his son) in the charter of 1475 (AG 2.31), issued jointly by Bagrat VI and Constantine II, as well as in his own, undated diploma (*Sas. Sigel.* 10-11). In the charter 30 Jan. 13 Geo. VIII. 1460 (Z 277-8; K 3.34-6) the full royal style follows the names of both George VIII and his son Alexander; while that of 1463 (AG 3.462) and another, undated one (cf. J IV 44) mention the King of Kings George and his son, King Alexander.⁴⁸

George was superseded in 1465 by his cousin Bagrat VI, who had arisen in 1454 as an anti-king in Imeretia and, possibly, as an avenger of Demetrius III, who had died a year before. Bagrat VI reigned in Georgia until his death in 1478, having co-opted, probably from the beginning of his reign, the son and heir of Demetrius III, Constantine (II). The latter entitles himself King in his diplomata of 1466 (AG 2.13; for the date cf. J IV 92-3) and 1467 (*Sas. Sigel.* 30-1) and is so entitled in the charter of the nun Nino of the Kvatakhevi Convent of 1477 (K 2.20-1); in his joint charter with Bagrat VI of November 6, 1468 (AG 2.30) he is called *patron*,⁴⁹ while Bagrat is 'King of Kings', but the royal style follows both names; and in their other joint diploma of 1475 (AG 2.31), while Bagrat is 'King of Kings', Constantine is 'King'.⁵⁰ It would be only natural that Bagrat, having wrested from George VIII the crown of which the latter had deprived Demetrius III, should have co-opted Demetrius' subdued heir.⁵¹

George VIII, in the meantime, upon his release from the captivity which a year before, in 1465, had made the advent of Bagrat possible, retired to his old

⁴⁷ For Byzantine examples, one will recall the reduction to co-emperorship of the lawful Emperor-regnant Constantine VII by Romanus I Lecapenus; that of Basil II by Nicephorus II Phocas and, later, by John I Tzimisce; that of Isaac II Angelus by his son Alexius IV; and that of John V Palaeologus by John VI Cantacuzenus: DuCange, *Familiae* 149, 150, 153, 204, 239, 260; cf. following note.

⁴⁸ Cf. above, chap. I, note on Alexander of Kakhetia. For a similar Byzantine instance, comparison can be made with the action of Romanus I, who reduced Constantine VII to co-regency and elevated to it his own three sons; DuCange, *Familiae* 142, 146-7.

⁴⁹ On the significance of this title, cf. above, chap. I. n.149.

⁵⁰ Javaxišvili discards the charter of 1466 as unreliable, but, being unable to dismiss that of 1477, argues that perhaps Constantine succeeded Bagrat in that year, and not in 1478; J IV 135. This, of course, is contradicted by the regnal years of Constantine's acts (cf. note on Constantine II), and the Georgian historian finally abandons his argument. But, then, he ignores the charters of 1467 and 1475, which it would be difficult to explain away. On the other hand, he makes much of the joint charter of Bagrat and Constantine of 1468, in which the one is 'King' and the other *patron*; J IV 102-3. But that title was applicable to kings (cf. above, chap. I. n.149) and in this charter the royal style follows the two names (cf. below).

⁵¹ The Byzantine instance of Alexius I Comnenus, co-opting Michael VII's son Constantine Ducas upon dethroning the usurper Nicephorus III Botaniates, will be recalled: DuCange, *Familiae* 164.

appanage of Kakhetia, where he remained, a sort of anti-king, till his death in 1476.⁵²

Bagrat VI was succeeded as King of Kings of Georgia by Constantine II (1478-1505), who made all of his sons his co-kings. Beginning with his charter of 1488 (Z 306), the royal style follows the names of both Constantine and his sons: David (VIII), George (IX), Bagrat, and Demetrius. In that document, moreover, while Constantine is entitled King of Kings, the eldest son David is 'King'. This is not, obviously, an exclusive use of the title, but rather another instance of the use of the singular for the plural in Georgian.⁵³ A similar case is presented by Alexander I's charters of 1433 [I, II] (K 3.15-6; Z 239-40; and K 3.17), wherein Vakhtang (IV), alone of all the sons of the King of Kings Alexander, is entitled King, but where the royal style follows not only his father's name and his own, but also those of his brothers, who, as has been seen, were all co-opted by Alexander. The position of the royal style in official documents, after the names of others besides the reigning sovereign, was thus indicative of co-optation (whether the royal title be used or not) in the fifteenth-century Georgian State.⁵⁴ Consequently, for instance, Bagrat, Constantine II's third son, who received the Principality of Mukhrani in appanage and never came to the throne of Georgia, but was co-opted by his father c. 1488 (as is indicated by the position of the royal style after his name in the royal acts), is referred to as King in various epigraphic sources.⁵⁵

The realm which Constantine II received had already been diminished under his predecessor by the secession, in Kakhetia, of the ex-King of Kings George VIII and his successor Alexander. It was now further reduced by the defection, final after 1489, of Bagrat VI's son Alexander in Imeretia. Meanwhile, the separatism of the great Western Duchies of Meschia, Guria, Mingrelia, Abkhazia, and Suania which had been given reins by the revolt of Bagrat VI in

⁵² Cf. above, chap. I, notes on George VIII and Bagrat VI.

⁵³ In this way the title *patron*, though belonging to all the members of the royal family (cf. above, chap. I, n.149), was often applied, in the singular, to the eldest of a sovereign's sons. What is more, one often finds in the documents the singular of the noun 'son' (*je*) applied to the eldest only of all a monarch's sons.

⁵⁴ This is precisely the point combatted by Javakhišvili. In his opinion it is, e.g., decisive that Constantine II is merely called *patron* (cf. above, nn.50, 53) in his joint charter with Bagrat VI of 1468 (AG 3.20) even though the royal style follows after the names of *both*. Else, he argues, one would have to consider as cases of a co-optation all the cases when in official documents the royal style followed the names of both the reigning sovereign and his sons, which, to his mind, would be an absurdity; J IV 102-3. Yet this is precisely the historical truth. We have seen that Constantine was a co-king of Bagrat VI and that the sons of Alexander I were co-opted in the very year when the royal style began to follow their names in that King's acts.

⁵⁵ Cf. Ceret'eli, 'Arxeologičeskaä Progulka etc.' *Materiali po Arxeologii Kavkaza* 7 84-85; Countess P. S. Uvarov, 'Koblianskoe Uščel'e,' *Materiali po Arz. Kavk.* 4 (1894) 72-4: the royal title of Bagrat of Muxrani evoked the author's astonishment (p. 74).—Bagrat was the founder of the branch of the Princes of Muxrani, the eldest extant line of the Bagratid dynasty; cf. above, chap. I, n.190.

1454-1465, found expression in the severance of all ties connecting these fiefs with the Crown of Georgia.⁵⁶

Unsuccessful in his efforts to restore the unity of Georgia, Constantine II was obliged to ratify what was now an accomplished fact. He, accordingly, recognized Alexander I, son of George VIII, as King of Kakhetia in 1490 and Alexander II, son of Bagrat VI, as King of Imeretia in 1491; and he sanctioned the independence of at least one of the duchies, Meschia.⁵⁷ Thus the Partition of the United Kingdom of Georgia had taken place.

The appanaging of George (VIII) in Kakhetia upon his elevation to the co-regency by Alexander I was a new development in the history of collegial sovereignty in Georgia,⁵⁸ and one which made the Partition possible.⁵⁹ Superficially, this conjunction of the Byzantine collegial forms with territorial separation may seem to bear resemblance to that of the collegial *imperium* with territorial division as instituted by Diocletian. But in reality this was a resurgence of the idea immanent in the Georgian polity, from beneath the veneer of Byzantine forms assumed in the Middle Ages. It is important, therefore, to examine here this idea and that of the Romano-Byzantine polity.

The Roman Empire was a unique polity and evolved a unique political ideology. Its chief characteristics were, perhaps, the principle of the unity and indivisibility of the *coniunctissimum imperium* and that of elective succession.⁶⁰ It was only because the deeply ingrained principle of the unity of the Empire and the non-hereditary character of the imperial dignity were accepted without question, that there could exist, within that unity, a plurality

⁵⁶ For these fiefs, cf. above, chap. I, n.99.

⁵⁷ Cf. above, chap. I, note on Constantine II.

⁵⁸ Unless we accept as a precedent the doubtful case of George V in Iberia, in 1299; cf. above, n.34 (4).

⁵⁹ It is quite possible that, upon the elevation of his elder sons (and of George) to the co-kingship in 1433, Alexander may have sought to protect the future of his third son, who was his first by the second marriage, against possible encroachments on the part of his elder half-brothers, by assuring him and his eventual posterity of an appanage — like that of the Dukes of Orléans in France. The co-optation was, to be sure, as usual extended only *ad personam*, whereas the appanage would have remained in the princely, no longer royal, posterity of George (who, in the normal course of events, had no prospect of succeeding to the throne). Precisely the same situation can be witnessed in the case of Constantine II's third son and co-king Bagrat, who was given the Principality of Muxrani in appanage, in 1512, and whose posterity constituted the house of the Princes of Muxrani, first princes of the blood of Georgia. (cf. above, n.55; chap. I, n.190). The choice of the easternmost province of Kakhetia may have been determined by the desire to remove George from any contacts with his mother's heritage, Imeretia, where the connection of local separatism with the ambition of the Seljukids had only too often proved detrimental to the unity of the realm. As we know, this precaution was of no avail. — It is interesting, too, that the title of the Princes of Muxrani was *baton* (*muxran-baton*), an equivalent of the Palaeologan *δεσπότης*; and the early Kings of Kakhetia were likewise referred to by that title in some Georgian sources.

⁶⁰ Cf. Bury, *History* I 5-7, 16-8.

of coequal rulers and even of coequal, parallel, and territorially distinct imperial organizations.

The autochthonous Georgian idea of polity was very different. It was one of an hereditary feudal monarchy, sprung from the aboriginal tribal conditions of Caucasia, under the influence of Hellenistic and Iranian political and cultural forms.⁶¹ It was, on the one hand, very much like the medieval Western political idea, born, likewise, of the blending of the Celto-Germanic tribal ways with the political and cultural forms of Rome. Accordingly, the social and political structure of Georgia is strikingly similar to that of medieval Europe; exactly as, let us say, Georgian architecture resembles Romanesque: both being (as Focillon has said, referring to the latter resemblance) the results of two different experiments conducted with similar components.⁶² On the other hand, the Georgian polity found itself mirrored and magnified in that of neighboring Iran, and Armenia. There, too, the feudal character of the Sassanid period resulted from the fusion of two elements: the conditions of the tribal aristocracy under the Achaemenids, and the Hellenistic influences in the Seleucid and the Arsacid period.⁶³

The affinity of Christian Georgia with the rest of Christendom was always outweighed by two rival factors. One was the geographic proximity of heathen Iran; the other, the cultural ascendancy of Byzantium, whose polity represented a survival in the Christian world of the pagan Roman State. The seeming destruction of the Iranian cultural tradition by wholly alien Islam strengthened Byzantine influence in Georgia. This resulted, among other things, in the superimposition of Byzantine political forms upon the Georgian polity. The subsequent re-emergence of the Iranian culture, after the fury of the Muslim domination had been spent, coincided with the Byzantine decline and encouraged the revival of the kindred political forms peculiar to Georgia.

Both Iran and Georgia were feudal confederacies. The King of Kings of Iran ruled over a number of vassal kingdoms; the King of Kings of Georgia reigned over the — traditionally — seven confederated kingdoms.⁶⁴ The unity of such a polity reposed on feudal subordination and hierarchization. Under the Iranian Great King stood vassal kings; under the King of Georgia, local dynasts: princes and dukes, some ruling former kingdoms.

The Georgian idea of the King as *primus inter pares* at the summit of the

⁶¹ For Georgian feudalism, cf. Brosset, *Introduction* lxx-lxvi; Allen, *History* chaps. 19, 21, 22.

⁶² In the preface to J. Baltrušaitis, *Etudes sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie* (Paris 1930).

⁶³ Cf. N. Adonc', *Armeniā v Epoxu Yustiniana* 383; R. Kherumian, 'Esquisse d'une féodalité oubliée,' *Vostan* 1 (1948-1949) 7-56; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (2nd ed. Copenhagen 1944) 15-27, cf. 510-4.

⁶⁴ Brosset, *Introduction* lxx; Karst, *Code géorg.: Comment.* I 220; cf. above, n.28: either the title of Šahanšah was counted as distinct from that of King of Armenia, or it was remembered that the Kingdom of Kakhetia, annexed by David II, was originally 'of Kakhetia and Heret'i.'

feudal hierarchy had less in common with the Byzantine conception of an — at least theoretically — elective and autocratic Caesar than with the Iranian or, *a fortiori*, with the Western idea of the monarch. However, the growing royal power in Georgia's Golden Age became, to the detriment of feudalism, subject to the influence of the Byzantine autocratic ideology. Georgia's drifting into the Cerularian schism rendered that influence all the more powerful. Yet the autocratic ideology of 'New Rome' was never fully realized there, because of its incompatibility with local conceptions. Nevertheless, its influence was powerful enough to change the outward form, at least, of the Georgian monarchy; to the extent, for instance, of an introduction of the Byzantine system of collegial sovereignty. But, since the unique Romano-Byzantine polity could not be transplanted on the feudal soil of Georgia, that form, devoid of content, remained dangerously empty.

The resurgent local political idea, aided by regional separatism and dynastic ambition, filled that form. When Alexander I co-opted his younger son and, at the same time, appanaged him in the former kingdom of Kakhetia, he acted, not so much like a Roman Emperor setting up several parallel imperial organizations, as like a Great King of Iran sending one of his sons to be the vassal king of, let us say, Armenia or Atropatene.

Iran could afford appanaging younger sons in vassal kingdoms, because the subordination of rank and the incommensurability of king and Great King guaranteed the unity of the empire. Rome could afford to have several co-equal rulers or co-equal imperial organizations, because of the theoretical indivisibility of the Empire and the non-hereditary character of the imperial dignity. Georgia, a smaller political unit, was able to maintain the unity of her federated realm so long as the subordination of feudatory to king subsisted. But in the fifteenth century, the Byzantine collegial form, emptied of the Roman tradition of elective monarchy and indivisible empire, and unaided by the slight titular distinctions between senior and junior colleagues, was superimposed on the Georgian polity—: a syncretism of political traditions which resulted in the coexistence of several kings in a kingdom whose own dynastic and feudal tradition was alien to the Roman conceptions, and in which the subordination of kings to the King of Kings, effective under Iranian conditions, could not be maintained. Thus the disruption of the United Kingdom of Georgia was inevitable.

The system of collegial sovereignty, as adopted by the Bagratid dynasty, made it easy for the energetic George VIII to usurp the royal power from his elder and apparently fainéant brother Demetrius III: he had merely to exchange their respective roles of co-king and king-regnant and their titles, King and King of Kings.

One usurpation, then, begat another. Upon Demetrius' death, Bagrat VI rose as an avenging anti-king in Imeretia, where separatist tendencies had long flourished under the Seljukids; and, a decade later, he supplanted George VIII on the Georgian throne. His triumph was due largely to the support he

had received from the five Western Dukes in exchange for a recognition of their independence. In this way the realm had already suffered diminution.

Now, the conjunction of co-kingship with appanage, in the case of George VIII, made his subsequent secession in Kakhetia unavoidable. The loss of the Georgian throne no longer meant the loss of the royal dignity; nor the loss of the Georgian kingship, the loss of a kingdom. The co-optation, moreover, of his son Alexander, while George was still King of Kings, assured the legal continuity of the Kakhetian succession even after George's death.

The King of Kings Constantine II, succeeding Bagrat VI, found himself weakened by the loss of Kakhetia and the recalcitrance of the Western Dukes, as well as harassed by external enemies,⁶⁵ and thus unable to cope with the separatism of Imeretia, where Alexander, son of Bagrat VI, true to the conception that the royal dignity should be hereditary, had rebelled as anti-king.

Finally, the facility of co-optation and the precedent of its conjunction with appanage led Constantine to recognize the two Alexanders, sons of the two usurping Kings-regnant of Georgia, as Kings of Kakhetia and of Imeretia; but what he no doubt envisaged as another, temporary extension of appanaged collegiality, proved to be the ratification of a permanent partition of the realm. The fact of appanaged collegiality might at least have been tantamount to a reversion to the system of dynastic condominium as practiced by the early Georgian Bagratids,⁶⁶ had only the unity of the dynasty subsisted to bind the plurality of crowns; but the dynastic strife had rent even that unity.⁶⁷

The Partition of Georgia, thus, occurred almost imperceptibly, in the course of the fifteenth century, through the introduction of a foreign constitutional development and its relation to the local political conceptions and separatist tendencies. A fatal step towards the disaster was taken, albeit unwittingly, by Alexander I the Great, when he appanaged one of his co-kings in one of his kingdoms; and so the traditional ascription to him of the act of Partition

⁶⁵ Cf. Allen, *History* 138; Minorsky, *Encycl. of Islam* s.v. 'Tiflis' 758. The enemies were the Aq-Qoyulu chieftains, Uzün-Hasan and his son Sultān Ya'qūb.

⁶⁶ Among the posterity of Asot the Great, Curopalates of Iberia (813-829), until the unification of Bagrat III (978-1014).

⁶⁷ The relations of Alexander I of Kakhetia and Constantine II may give an indication that something very vaguely like dynastic condominium existed during the reigns of these two monarchs. In his charters of Jan. 23 and 24, 1479 (Z 300-1 and 301), 1503 (Z 319), and 1505 (Z 325; K 3.42) the former entitles himself merely King; this was no doubt due to an accord with Constantine, which found its legal expression in the Treaty of 1490; J IV 139. But the Imeretian rulers never — from the final instalment of Alexander II to the reign of the last king, Solomon II — ceased to regard themselves as Kings of Kings of Georgia. What is more, Constantine II appears to have been constrained to abandon Formula D of the royal style (cf. above, n.28) after his treaty with Alexander of Imeretia in 1491; J IV 138. Thus the old geopolitical dichotomy of Georgia appeared anew. Cf. *Introduction* lxxxiv.

stands in a way vindicated.⁶⁸ It remains to add, by way of an epilogue, that, its nefarious role once accomplished, the Byzantine practice of collegial sovereignty passed out of the polity of a disrupted Georgia.

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⁶⁸ J IV 94-9; Vaxušt refuted that notion, but it had arisen soon after the Partition, for in 1589 King Alexander II of Kakhetia told the Russian Ambassador, Prince Zvenigorodskiy that the unity of Georgia had been broken into three kingdoms by his forefather; S. Bëlokurov, *Snošeniā Rossii s Kavkazom* I (Moscow 1889) 169-70. The statement from the *Hist. Alex. I.* referred to above (chap. I, n.90) has been often interpreted in that sense.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF GEORGIA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The Kings of United Georgia, before 1490-1491

Kings-regnant	Co-kings	Anti-kings
BAGRAT V THE GREAT (1360-1395)	George (VII) 1369-1395	Alexander I of Imeretia 1387-1389
GEORGE VII (1395-1405)		George I of Imeretia 1389-1392
CONSTANTINE I (1405-1412)	Alexander (I) c. 1408-1412	Constantine II of Imeretia 1396-1401
ALEXANDER I THE GREAT (1412-1442)	Bagrat c. 1408	
VAKHTANG IV (1442-1446)	George c. 1408	
DEMETRIUS III <i>de jure</i> (1446-1453)	Vakhtang (IV) 1433-1442	
GEORGE VIII <i>de facto</i> (1446-1465)	Demetrius (III) 1433-1446	
BAGRAT VI (1465-1478)	George (VIII) in Kakhetia 1433-1466	[Bagrat of Georgia, in Imeretia 1445?]
CONSTANTINE II (1478-1505)	Zaal 1433	
	Alexander c. 1460-1478	Bagrat (VI) in Imeretia 1454-1465
	Constantine (II) c. 1465-1478	George I (VIII) of Kakhetia 1466-1476
	David (VIII) c. 1488-1505	Alexander I of Kakhetia 1476-1490
	George (IX) c. 1488	Alexander II in Imeretia 1478-1479,
	Bagrat (I of Mukhrani) c. 1488	1484-1487, 1488-1491
	Demetrius c. 1488	

The Kings of Georgia, Kakhetia, and Imeretia after the Treaties of 1490 and 1491

Georgia (Iberia)	Kakhetia	Imeretia
CONSTANTINE II (1478-1505)	ALEXANDER I (1490-1511)	ALEXANDER II (1491-1510)